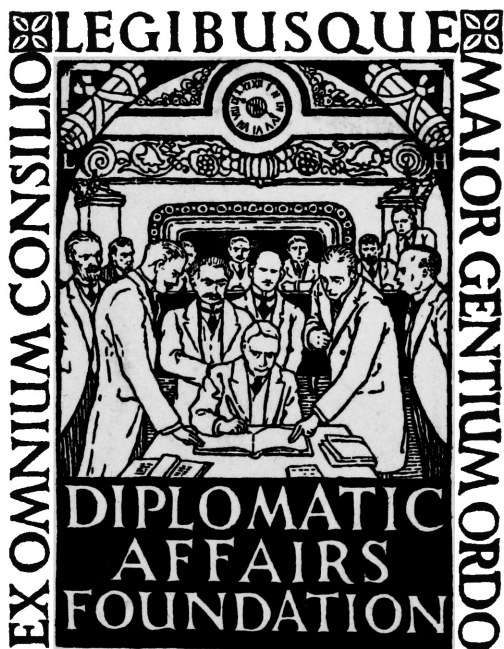


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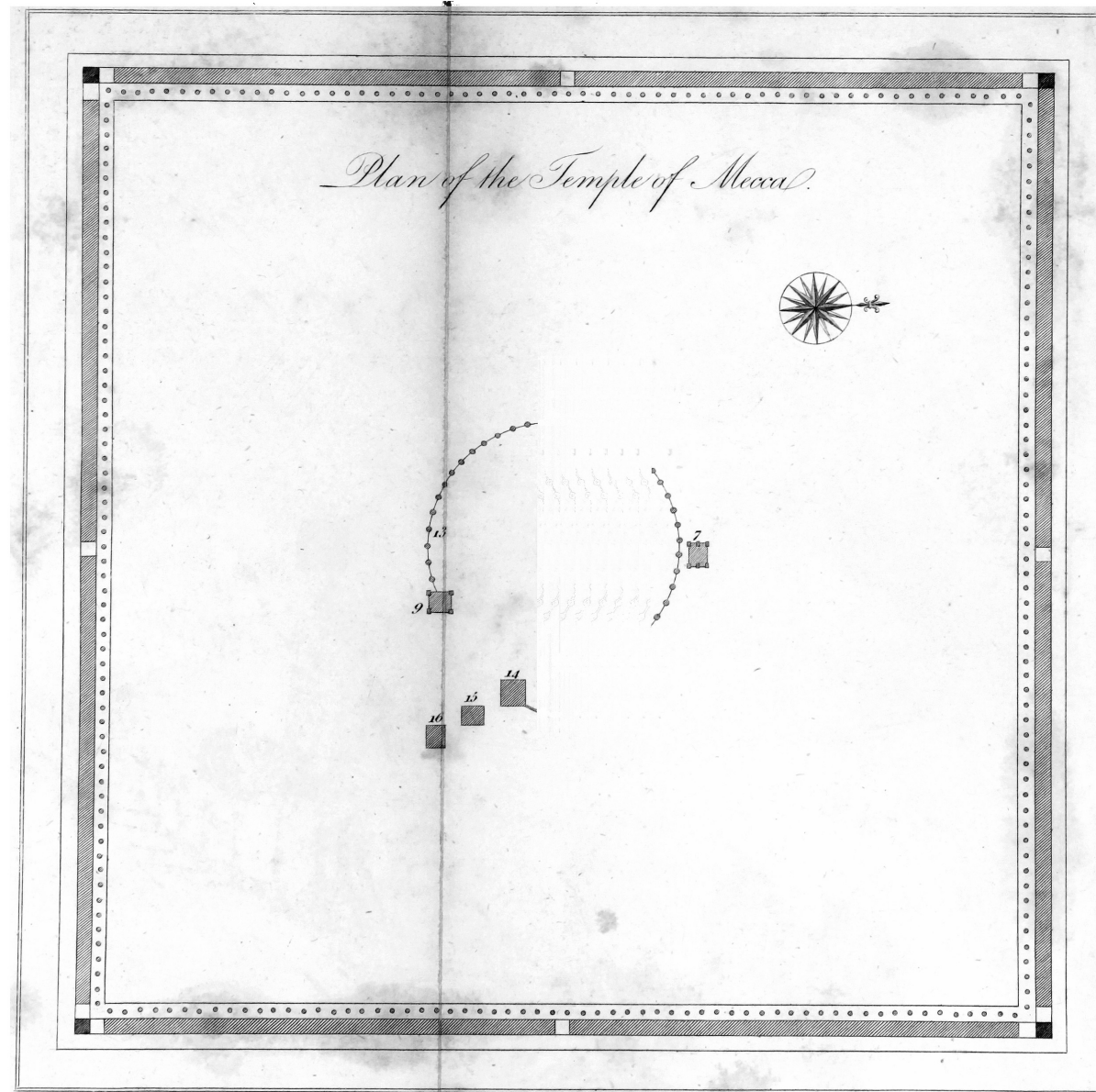
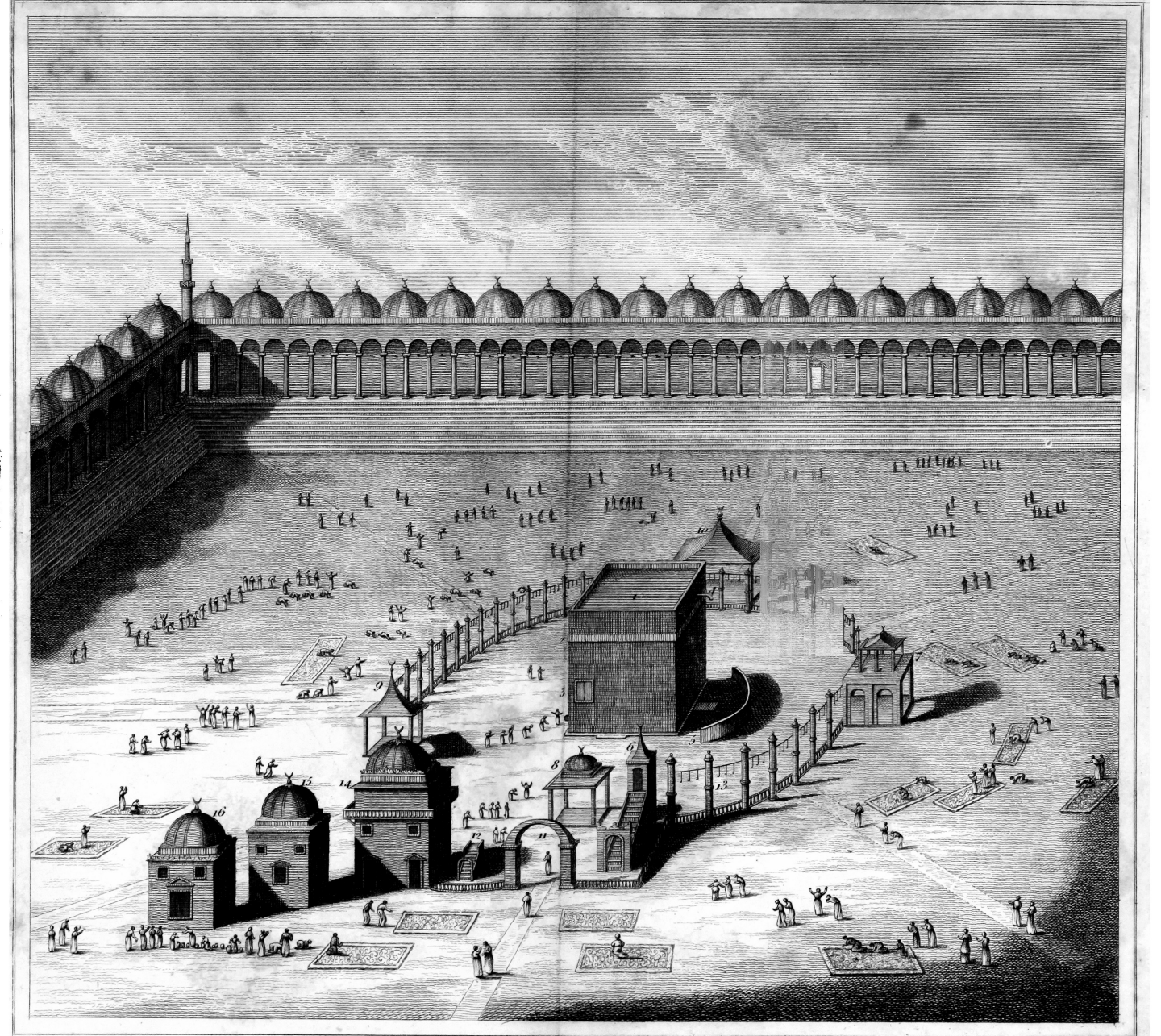
K O R A N,

COMMONLY CALLED

THE ALCORAN OF MOHAMMED.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

View of the Temple of Mecca



1 *Al Caaba.* 2 *The band of gold.* 3 *The black Stone.* 4 *The golden Spout.* 5 *The Sepulchre of Ishmael.* 6 *The pulpit* 7 *The Station of the Hanisites.* 8 *The place of Abraham & the Shafites.* 9 *The Station of the Hanbalites.* 10 *The Station of the Malekites.* 11 *The old gate.* 12 *The steps moving on wheels to mount up to the door of the Caaba.* 13 *The inner Inclosure which at night is illuminated with lamps.* 14 *The building over the Well Zemzem.* 15 *The treasury.* 16 *The cupola of al Abbās.*
NB. *The numeral References are the same in the Plan as in the View and shew the same Things.*

THE
K O R A N,
COMMONLY CALLED
THE ALCORAN OF MOHAMMED,
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH IMMEDIATELY FROM THE
ORIGINAL ARABIC;

WITH
EXPLANATORY NOTES,
TAKEN FROM THE MOST APPROVED COMMENTATORS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

BY GEORGE SALE, GENT.

Nulla falsa doctrina est, quæ non aliquid veri permisceat.
AUGUSTIN. QUÆST. EVANG. l. 2, c. 40.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH
A MEMOIR OF THE TRANSLATOR,
AND WITH VARIOUS READINGS AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES FROM
SAVARY'S VERSION OF THE KORAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE; R. MILLIKEN,
DUBLIN; GRIFFIN AND CO. GLASGOW; AND M. BAUDRY, PARIS.

1825.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN LORD CARTERET,

ONE OF THE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE
PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

NOTWITHSTANDING the great honour and respect generally, and deservedly, paid to the memories of those who have founded states, or obliged a people by the institution of laws which have made them prosperous and considerable in the world, yet the legislator of the Arabs has been treated in so very different a manner by all who acknowledge not his claim to a divine mission, and by Christians especially, that were not your Lordship's just discernment sufficiently known, I should think myself under a necessity of making an apology for presenting the following translation.

The remembrance of the calamities brought on so many nations by the conquests of the Arabians may possibly raise some indignation against him who formed them to empire ; but this being equally applicable to all conquerors, could not, of itself, occasion all the detestation with which the name of Mohammed is loaded. He has given a new system of religion, which has had still greater success than the arms of his followers, and to establish this religion made use of an imposture ; and on this account it is supposed that he must of necessity have been a most abandoned villain, and his memory is become infamous. But as Mohammed gave his Arabs the best religion he could, as well as the best laws, preferable, at least, to those of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confess I cannot see why he deserves not equal respect, though not with Moses or Jesus Christ, whose laws came really from heaven, yet with Minos or Numa, notwithstanding the distinction of a learned writer, who seems to think it a greater crime to make use of an imposture to set up a *new* religion, founded on the acknowledgment of one true God, and to destroy idolatry, than to use the same means to gain reception to rules and regulations for the more orderly practice of heathenism already established.

To be acquainted with the various laws and constitutions of civilized nations, especially of those who flourish in our own time, is, perhaps, the most useful part of knowledge : wherein though your Lordship, who shines with so much distinction in the noblest assembly in the world, peculiarly excels ; yet as the law of Mohammed, by reason of the odium it lies under, and the strangeness of the language in which it is written, has been so much neglected, I flatter myself some things in the following sheets may be new even to a person of your Lordship's extensive learning ; and if what I have written may be any way entertaining or acceptable to your Lordship, I shall not regret the pains it has cost me.

I join with the general voice in wishing your Lordship all the honour and happiness your known virtues and merit deserve, and am with perfect respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble

And most obedient servant,

GEORGE SALE.

TO

THE READER.

I IMAGINE it almost needless either to make an apology for publishing the following translation, or to go about to prove it a work of use as well as curiosity. They must have a mean opinion of the Christian religion, or be but ill grounded therein, who can apprehend any danger from so manifest a forgery : and if the religious and civil institutions of foreign nations are worth our knowledge, those of Mohammed, the lawgiver of the Arabians, and founder of an empire which in less than a century spread itself over a greater part of the world than the Romans were ever masters of, must needs be so ; whether we consider their extensive obtaining, or our frequent intercourse with those who are governed thereby. I shall not here inquire into the reasons why the law of Mohammed has met with so unexampled a reception in the world (for they are greatly deceived who imagine it to have been propagated by the sword alone), or by what means it came to be embraced by nations which never felt the force of the Mohammedan arms, and even by those which stripped the Arabians of their conquests, and put an end to the sovereignty and very being of their Khalifs : yet it seems as if there was something more than what is vulgarly imagined, in a religion which

has made so surprising a progress. But whatever use an impartial version of the Koran may be of in other respects, it is absolutely necessary to undeceive those who, from the ignorant or unfair translations which have appeared, have entertained too favourable an opinion of the original, and also to enable us effectually to expose the imposture; none of those who have hitherto undertaken that province, not excepting Dr. Prideaux himself, having succeeded to the satisfaction of the judicious, for want of being complete masters of the controversy. The writers of the Romish communion, in particular, are so far from having done any service in their refutations of Mohammedism, that by endeavouring to defend their idolatry and other superstitions, they have rather contributed to the increase of that aversion which the Mohammedans in general have to the Christian religion, and given them great advantages in the dispute. The protestants alone are able to attack the Koran with success; and for them, I trust, Providence has reserved the glory of its overthrow. In the mean time, if I might presume to lay down rules to be observed by those who attempt the conversion of the Mohammedans, they should be the same which the learned and worthy bishop Kidder* has prescribed for the conversion of the Jews, and which may, *mutatis mutandis*, be equally applied to the former, notwithstanding the despicable opinion that writer, for want of being better acquainted with them, entertained of those people, judging them scarce fit to be argued with. The first of these rules is, To avoid compulsion; which, though it be not in our power to employ at present, I hope will not be made use of when it is. The second is, To avoid teaching doctrines against common sense; the Mohammedans not being such fools (whatever we may think of them) as to be gained over in this case. The worshipping of images and the doctrine of transubstantiation are great stumbling blocks to the Mo-

† In his *Demonst. of the Messias*, part III. chap. 2.

hammedans, and the church which teacheth them is very unfit to bring those people over. The third is, To avoid weak arguments : for the Mohammedans are not to be converted with these, or hard words. We must use them with humanity, and dispute against them with arguments that are proper and cogent. It is certain that many Christians, who have written against them, have been very defective this way : many have used arguments that have no force, and advanced propositions that are void of truth. This method is so far from convincing that it rather serves to harden them. The Mohammedans will be apt to conclude we have little to say, when we urge them with arguments that are trifling or untrue. We do but lose ground when we do this ; and instead of gaining them, we expose ourselves and our cause also. We must not give them ill words neither ; but must avoid all reproachful language, all that is sarcastical and biting : this never did good from pulpit or press. The softest words will make the deepest impression ; and if we think it a fault in them to give ill language, we cannot be excused when we imitate them. The fourth rule is, Not to quit any article of the Christian faith to gain the Mohammedans. It is a fond conceit of the Socinians, that we shall upon their principles be most like to prevail upon the Mohammedans : it is not true in matter of fact. We must not give up any article to gain them : but then the church of Rome ought to part with many practices and some doctrines. We are not to design to gain the Mohammedans over to a system of dogmas, but to the ancient and primitive faith. I believe nobody will deny but that the rules here laid down are just : the latter part of the third, which alone my design has given me occasion to practise, I think so reasonable, that I have not, in speaking of Mohammed or his Koran, allowed myself to use those opprobrious appellations, and unmannerly expressions, which seem to be the strongest arguments of several who have written against them. On the contrary, I have thought

myself obliged to treat both with common decency, and even to approve such particulars as seemed to me to deserve approbation: for how criminal soever Mohammed may have been in imposing a false religion on mankind, the praises due to his real virtues ought not to be denied him; nor can I do otherwise than applaud the candour of the pious and learned Spanhemius, who, though he owned him to have been a wicked impostor, yet acknowledged him to have been richly furnished with natural endowments, beautiful in his person, of a subtle wit, agreeable behaviour, showing liberality to the poor, courtesy to every one, fortitude against his enemies, and above all a high reverence for the name of God; severe against the perjured, adulterers, murderers, slanderers, prodigals, covetous, false witnesses, &c. a great preacher of patience, charity, mercy, beneficence, gratitude, honouring of parents and superiors, and a frequent celebrator of the divine praises*.

Of the several translations of the Koran now extant, there is but one which tolerably represents the sense of the original; and that being in Latin, a new version became necessary, at least to an English reader. What Bibliander published for a Latin translation of that book deserves not the name of a translation; the unaccountable liberties therein taken, and the numberless faults, both of omission and commission, leaving scarce any resemblance of the original. It was made near six hundred years ago, being finished in 1143, by Robertus Retenensis, an Englishman, with the assistance of Hermannus Dalmata, at the request of Peter abbot of Clugny, who paid them well for their pains.

From this Latin version was taken the Italian of Andrea Arrivabene, notwithstanding the pretences in

* Id certum, naturalibus egregiè dotibus instructum Muhammedem, forma præstanti, ingenio callido, moribus facietis, ac præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac præ cæteris reverentiam divini nominis.—Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros, homicidas, obtrectatores, prodigos, avaros, falsos testes, &c. Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut et divinarum laudum.—*Hist. Eccles. Sec. 7, c. 7, lem. 5, et 7.*

his dedication of its being done immediately from the Arabic *; wherefore it is no wonder if the transcript be yet more faulty and absurd than the copy †.

About the end of the fifteenth century, Johannes Andreas, a native of Xativa in the kingdom of Valencia, who from a Mohammedan doctor became a Christian priest, translated not only the Korân, but also its glosses, and the seven books of the Sonna, out of Arabic into the Arragonian tongue, at the command of Martin Garcia ‡, bishop of Barcelona, and inquisitor of Arragon. Whether this translation were ever published or not I am wholly ignorant; but it may be presumed to have been the better done for being the work of one bred up in the Mohammedan religion and learning; though his refutation of that religion, which has had several editions, gives no great idea of his abilities.

Some years within the last century, Andrew du Ryer, who had been consul of the French nation in Egypt, and was tolerably skilled in the Turkish and Arabic languages, took the pains to translate the Korân into his own tongue: but his performance, though it be beyond comparison preferable to that of Retenensis, is far from being a just translation; there being mistakes in every page, besides frequent transpositions, omissions, and additions §, faults unpardonable in a work of this nature. And what renders it still more incomplete is, the want of notes to explain a vast number of passages, some of which are difficult, and others impossible to be understood, without proper explications, were they translated ever so exactly; which the author is so sensible of that he often refers his reader to the Arabic commentators ||.

* His words are: "Questo libro, che già havevo à commune utilità di molti fatto dal proprio testo Arabo tradurre nella nostra volgar lingua Italiana," &c. And afterwards: "Questo è l'Alcorano di Macometto, il quale, come ho già detto, ho fatto dal suo idioma tradurre," &c.

† V. Joseph. Scalig. Epist. 361 et 362; et Selden. de Success. ad Leges Ebræor. p. 9.

‡ J. Andreas, in Pref. ad Tractat. suum de Confusione Sectæ Mahometanæ.

§ V. Windet. de Vita Functorum statu, sect. 9.

|| "If," says Savary, "the Korân, which is extolled throughout the East for the perfection of its style, and the magnificence of its imagery, seems, under the pen of du Ryer, to be only a dull and tiresome rhapsody, the blame must be laid on his

The English version is no other than a translation of Du Ryer's, and that a very bad one ; for Alexander Ross, who did it, being utterly unacquainted with the Arabic, and no great master of the French, has added a number of fresh mistakes of his own to those of du Ryer ; not to mention the meanness of his language, which would make a better book ridiculous.

In 1698, a Latin translation of the Korân, made by Father Lewis Marracci, who had been confessor to Pope Innocent XI. was published at Padua, together with the original text, accompanied by explanatory notes and a refutation. This translation of Marracci's, generally speaking, is very exact ; but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be easily understood, unless I am much deceived, by those who are not versed in the Mohammedan learning*. The notes he has added are indeed of great use ; but his refutations, which swell the work to a large volume, are of little or none at all, being often unsatisfactory, and sometimes impertinent. The work, however, with all its faults, is very valuable, and I should be guilty of ingratitude, did I not acknowledge myself much obliged thereto ; but still, being in Latin, it can be of no use to those who understand not that tongue.

Having therefore undertaken a new translation, I have endeavoured to do the original impartial justice,

manner of translating. This book is divided into verses, like the Psalms of David. This kind of writing, which was adopted by the prophets, enables prose to make use of the bold terms and the figurative expressions of poetry. Du Ryer, paying no respect whatever to the text, has connected the verses together, and made of them a continuous discourse. To accomplish this misshapen assemblage, he has had recourse to frigid conjunctions, and to trivial phrases, which, destroying the dignity of the ideas, and the charm of the diction, render it impossible to recognize the original. While reading his translation, no one would ever imagine that the Korân is the masterpiece of the Arabic language, which is fertile in fine writers ; yet this is the judgment which antiquity has passed on it."

* Of Marracci's translation Savary says : " Marracci, that learned monk, who spent forty years in translating and refuting the Korân, proceeded on the right system. He divided it into verses, according to the text ; but, neglecting the precepts of a great master,

" Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus
Interpres," &c.

he translated it literally. He has not expressed the ideas of the Korân, but travestied the words of it into barbarous Latin. Yet, though all the beauties of the original are lost in this translation, it is preferable to that by du Ryer."

not having, to the best of my knowledge, represented it, in any one instance, either better or worse than it really is. I have thought myself obliged, indeed, in a piece which pretends to be the Word of GOD, to keep somewhat scrupulously close to the text ; by which means the language may, in some places, seem to express the Arabic a little too literally to be elegant English : but this, I hope, has not happened often ; and I flatter myself that the style I have made use of will not only give a more genuine idea of the original than if I had taken more liberty (which would have been much more for my ease) but will soon become familiar : for we must not expect to read a version of so extraordinary a book with the same ease and pleasure as a modern composition.

In the notes my view has been briefly to explain the text, and especially the difficult and obscure passages, from the most approved commentators, and that generally in their own words, for whose opinions or expressions, where liable to censure, I am not answerable ; my province being only fairly to represent their expositions, and the little I have added of my own, or from European writers, being easily discernible. Where I met with any circumstance which I imagined might be curious or entertaining, I have not failed to produce it.

The Preliminary Discourse will acquaint the reader with the most material particulars proper to be known previously to the entering on the Korân itself, and which could not so conveniently have been thrown into the notes. And I have taken care, both in the Preliminary Discourse and the notes, constantly to quote my authorities and the writers to whom I have been beholden ; but to none have I been more so than to the learned Dr. Pocock, whose *Specimen Historiæ Arabum* is the most useful and accurate work that has been hitherto published concerning the antiquities of that nation, and ought to be read by every curious inquirer into them.

As I have had no opportunity of consulting public libraries, the manuscripts of which I have made use

throughout the whole work have been such as I had in my own study, except only the Commentary of al Beidâwi, and the Gospel of St. Barnabas. The first belongs to the library of the Dutch church in Austin Friars, and for the use of it I have been chiefly indebted to the Reverend Dr. Bolton, one of the ministers of that church: the other was very obligingly lent me by the Reverend Dr. Holme, rector of Hedley in Hampshire; and I take this opportunity of returning both those gentlemen my thanks for their favours. The merit of al Beidâwi's Commentary will appear from the frequent quotations I have made thence; but of the gospel of St. Barnabas (which I had not seen when the little I have said of it in the Preliminary Discourse*, and the extract I had borrowed from Mr. de la Monnoye and Mr. Toland†, were printed off), I must beg leave to give some further account.

The book is a moderate quarto, in Spanish, written in a very legible hand, but a little damaged towards the latter end. It contains two hundred and twenty-two chapters of unequal length, and four hundred and twenty pages; and is said, in the front, to be translated from the Italian, by an Arragonian Moslem, named Mostafa de Aranda. There is a preface prefixed to it, wherein the discoverer of the original MS. who was a Christian monk, called Fra Marino, tells us, that having accidentally met with a writing of Irenæus (among others), wherein he speaks against St. Paul, alleging, for his authority, the Gospel of St. Barnabas, he became exceedingly desirous to find this gospel; and that GOD, of his mercy, having made him very intimate with Pope Sixtus V., one day, as they were together in that Pope's library, his holiness fell asleep, and he, to employ himself, reaching down a book to read, the first he laid his hand on proved to be the very gospel he wanted; overjoyed at the discovery, he scrupled not to hide his prize in his sleeve, and on the Pope's awaking, took leave of him, carrying with him that celestial treasure, by reading of which he became a convert to Mohammedism.

* § IV. p. 102, Vol. I.

† In not. ad cap. 3, p. 61, Vol. I.

This Gospel of Barnabas contains a complete history of Jesus Christ from his birth to his ascension; and most of the circumstances of the four real Gospels are to be found therein, but many of them turned, and some artfully enough, to favour the Mohammedan system. From the design of the whole, and the frequent interpolations of stories and passages wherein Mohammed is spoken of and foretold by name, as the messenger of God, and the great prophet who was to perfect the dispensation of Jesus, it appears to be a most barefaced forgery. One particular I observe therein induces me to believe it to have been dressed up by a renegade Christian, slightly instructed in his new religion, and not educated a Mohammedan (unless the fault be imputed to the Spanish, or perhaps the Italian translator, and not to the original compiler), I mean the giving to Mohammed the title of Messiah, and that not once or twice only, but in several places; whereas the title of the Messiah, or, as the Arabs write it, al Masîh, *i. e.* Christ, is appropriated to Jesus in the Korân, and is constantly applied by the Mohammedans to him, and never to their own prophet. The passages produced from the Italian MS. by Mr. de la Monnoye are to be seen in this Spanish version almost word for word.

But to return to the following work. Though I have freely censured the former translations of the Korân, I would not therefore be suspected of a design to make my own pass as free from faults: I am very sensible it is not; and I make no doubt but the few who are able to discern them, and know the difficulty of the undertaking, will give me fair quarter. I likewise flatter myself that they, and all considerate persons, will excuse the delay which has happened in the publication of this work; when they are informed, that it was carried on at leisure times only, and amidst the necessary avocations of a troublesome profession.

A
S K E T C H
OF THE
LIFE OF GEORGE SALE.

OF the life of George Sale, a man of extensive learning, and considerable literary talent, very few particulars have been transmitted to us by his contemporaries. He is said to have been born in the county of Kent, and the time of his birth must have been not long previous to the close of the seventeenth century. His education he received at the King's School, Canterbury. Voltaire, who bestows high praise on the version of the Koran, asserts him to have spent five and twenty years in Arabia, and to have acquired in that country his profound knowledge of the Arabic language and customs. On what authority this is asserted, it would now be fruitless to endeavour to ascertain. But that the assertion is an erroneous one, there can be no reason to doubt; it being opposed by the stubborn evidence of dates and facts. It is almost certain that Sale was brought up to the law, and that he practised it for many years, if not till the end of his career. He is said, by a co-existing writer, to have quitted his legal pursuits, for the purpose of applying himself to the

study of the Eastern and other tongues, both ancient and modern. His guide through the labyrinth of the oriental dialects was Mr. Dadichi, the king's interpreter. If it be true that he ever relinquished the practice of the law, it would appear that he must have resumed it before his decease; for, in his address to the reader, prefixed to the Koran, he pleads, as an apology for the delay which had occurred in publishing the volume, that the work "was carried on at leisure times only, and amidst the necessary avocations of a troublesome profession." This alone would suffice to prove that Voltaire was in error. But to this must be added, that the existence of Sale was terminated at an early period, and that, in at least his latter years, he was engaged in literary labours of no trifling magnitude. The story of his having, during a quarter of a century, resided in Arabia, becomes, therefore, an obvious impossibility, and must be dismissed to take its place among those fictions by which biography has often been encumbered and disgraced.

Among the few productions of which Sale is known to be the author is a part of "The General Dictionary," in ten volumes, folio. To the translation of Bayle, which is incorporated with this voluminous work, he is stated to have been a large contributor.

When the plan of the Universal History was arranged, Sale was one of those who were selected to carry it into execution. His coadjutors were Swinton, eminent as an antiquary, and remarkable for absence of mind; Shelvocke, originally a naval officer; the well-informed, intelligent, and laborious Campbell; that singular character, George Psalmanazar; and Archibald Bower, who

afterwards became an object of unenviable notoriety. The portion of the history which was supplied by Sale comprises "The Introduction, containing the Cosmogony, or Creation of the World;" and the whole, or nearly the whole, of the succeeding chapter, which traces the narrative of events from the Creation to the Flood. In the performance of his task, he displays a thorough acquaintance with his subject; and his style, though not polished into elegance, is neat and perspicuous. In a French biographical dictionary, of anti-liberal principles, a writer accuses him of having adopted a system hostile to tradition and the Scriptures, and composed his account of the Cosmogony with the view of giving currency to his heretical opinions. Either the accuser never read the article which he censures, or he has wilfully misrepresented it; for it affords the fullest contradiction to the charge, as does also the sequent chapter; and he must, therefore, be contented to choose between the demerit of being a slanderer through blundering and reckless ignorance, or through sheer malignity of heart.

Though his share in these publications affords proof of the erudition and ability of Sale, it probably would not alone have been sufficient to preserve his name from oblivion. His claim to be remembered rests principally on his version of the Koran, which appeared in November 1734, in a quarto volume, and was inscribed to Lord Carteret. The dedicator does not disgrace himself by descending to that fulsome adulatory style which was then too frequently employed in addressing the great. As a translator, he had the field almost entirely to himself; there being at that time

no English translation of the Mohammedan civil and spiritual code, except a bad copy of the despicable French one by Du Ryer. His performance was universally and justly approved of, still remains in repute, and is not likely to be superseded by any other of the kind. It may, perhaps, be regretted, that he did not preserve the division into verses, as Savary has since done, instead of connecting them into a continuous narrative. Some of the poetical spirit is unavoidably lost by the change. But this is all that can be objected to him. It is, I believe, admitted, that he is in no common degree faithful to his original; and his numerous notes, and Preliminary Discourse, manifest such a perfect knowledge of Eastern habits, manners, traditions, and laws, as could have been acquired only by an acute mind, capable of submitting to years of patient toil.

But, though his work passed safely through the ordeal of criticism, it has been made the pretext for a calumny against him. It has been declared, that he puts the Christian religion on the same footing with the Mohammedan; and some charitable persons have even supposed him to have been a disguised professor of the latter. The origin of this slander we may trace back to the strange obliquity of principles, and the blind merciless rage, which are characteristic of bigotry. Sale was not one of those who imagine that the end sanctifies the means, and that the best interests of mankind can be advanced by violence, by railing, or by deviating from the laws of truth, in order to blacken an adversary. He enters into the consideration of the character of Mohammed with a calm philosophic spirit;

repeatedly censuring his imposture, touching upon his subterfuges and inventions, but doing justice to him on those points on which the pretended prophet is really worthy of praise. The rules which, in his address to the reader, he lays down for the conversion of Mohammedans, are dictated by sound sense and amiable feelings. They are, however, not calculated to satisfy those who think the sword and the faggot to be the only proper instruments for the extirpation of heresy. That he places Islamism on an equality with Christianity is a gross falsehood. "As Mohammed," says he, "gave his Arabs the best religion he could, preferable, at least, to those of the ancient Pagan lawgivers, I confess I cannot see why he deserves not equal respect, though not with Moses or Jesus Christ, whose laws came really from heaven, yet with Minos or Numa, notwithstanding the distinction of a learned writer, who seems to think it a greater crime to make use of an imposture to set up a *new* religion, founded on the acknowledgment of one true God, and to destroy idolatry, than to use the same means to gain reception to rules and regulations for the more orderly practice of heathenism already established." This, and no more, is "the very head and front of his offending;" and from this it would, I think, be difficult to extract any proof of his belief in the divine mission of Mohammed. If the charge brought against him be not groundless, he must have added to his other sins that of being a consummate hypocrite, and that, too, without any obvious necessity; he having been, till the period of his decease, a member of the Society for the promoting of Christian Knowledge.

In 1736 a society was established for the encouragement of learning. It comprehended many noblemen, and some of the most eminent literary men of that day. Sale was one of the founders of it, and was appointed on the first committee. The meetings were held weekly, and the committee decided upon what works should be printed at the expense of the society, or with its assistance, and what should be the price of them. When the cost of printing was repaid, the property of the work reverted to the author. This establishment did not, I imagine, exist for any length of time. The attention of the public has been recently called to a plan of a similar kind.

Sale did not long survive the carrying of this scheme into effect. He died of a fever, on the 13th of November, 1736, at his house in Surrey-street, Strand, after an illness of only eight days, and was buried at St. Clement Danes. He was under the age of forty when he was thus suddenly snatched from his family, which consisted of a wife and five children. Of his sons, one was educated at New College, Oxford, of which he became Fellow, and he was subsequently elected to a Fellowship in Winchester College. Sale is described as having had "a healthy constitution, and a communicative mind in a comely person." His library was valuable, and contained many rare and beautiful manuscripts in the Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and other languages; a circumstance which seems to show that poverty, so often the lot of men whose lives are devoted to literary pursuits, was not one of the evils with which he was compelled to encounter.

R. A. DAVENPORT.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present Edition of Sale's Translation of the Korân will, it is hoped, be found to possess some advantages over every other. Many useful notes, and several hundred various readings, are added from the French version by Savary. Of the various readings, the major part give a different meaning from that which is adopted by the English translator ; while the others, though agreeing with his idea of the text, are more poetically expressed. Great care has been taken to prevent the work from being disfigured by typographical errors, which are peculiarly objectionable in a work of this kind, because they render it unsafe to be consulted. A Sketch of the Life of Sale is also prefixed, which, though brief, contains several particulars not hitherto stated by any of his biographers, and vindicates, and it is believed satisfactorily, his memory from some aspersions that have been illiberally cast upon it by the prejudiced or the ignorant.

A

T A B L E

OF THE

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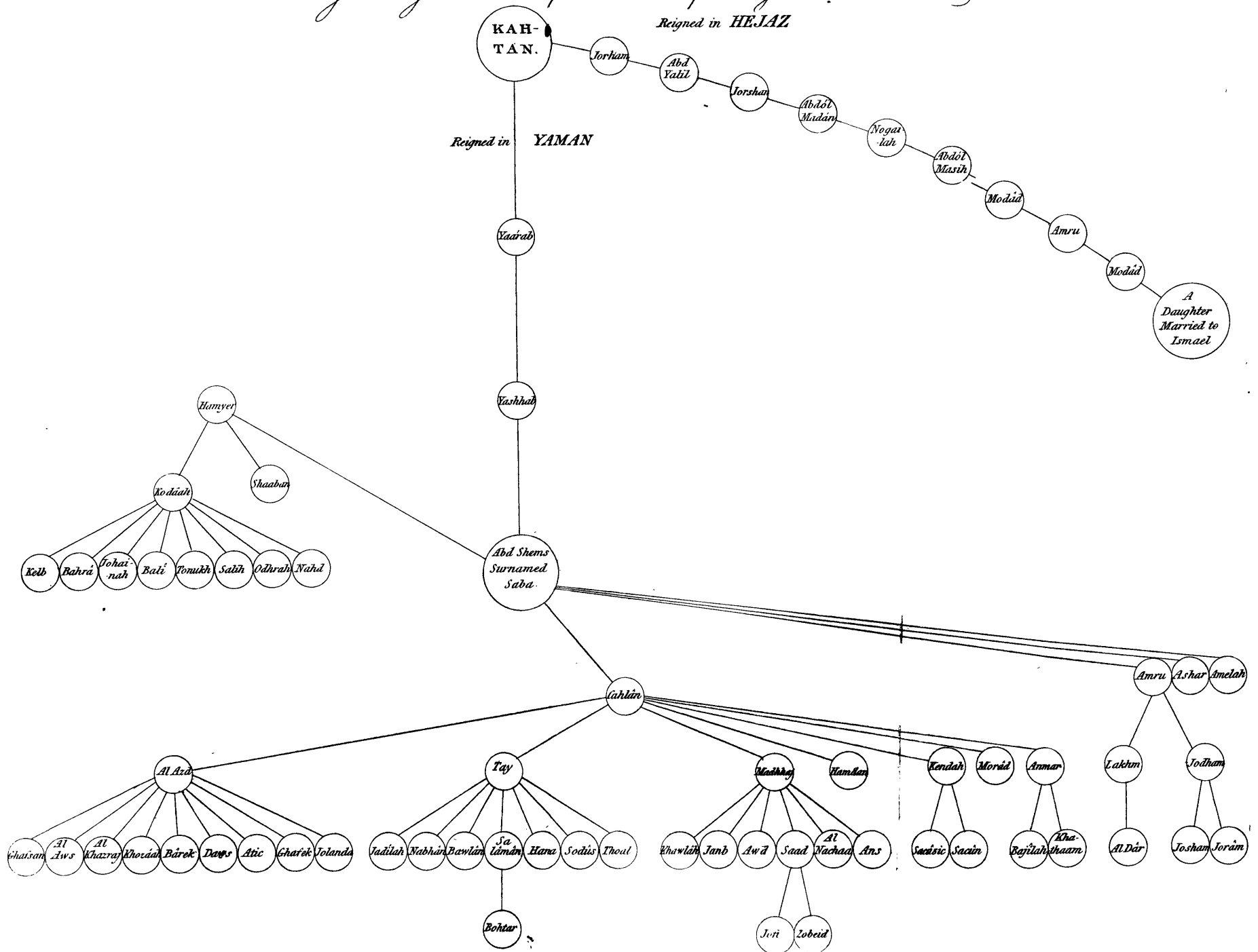
CHAPTERS OF THE KORAN*.

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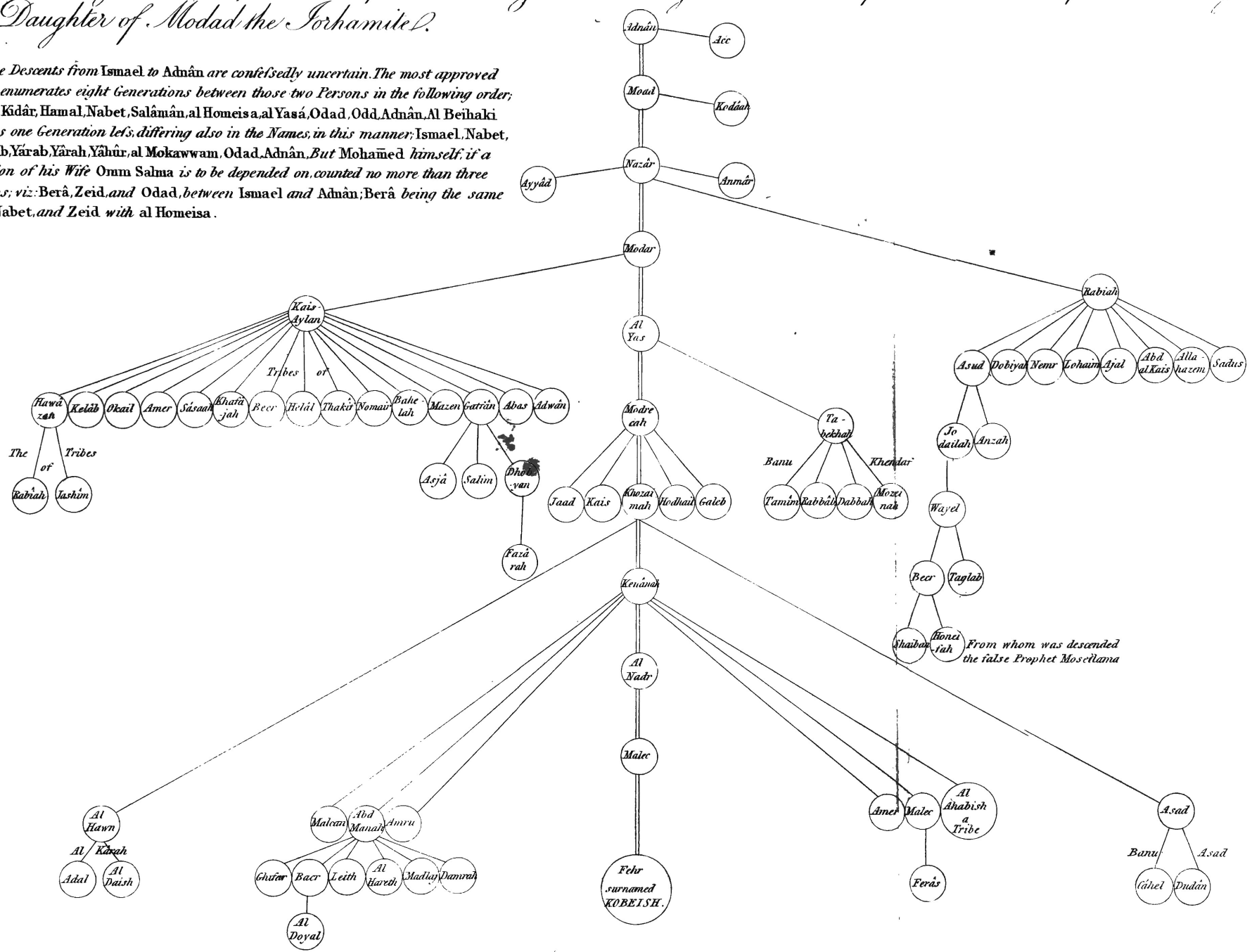
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A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Genuine Arabs.



A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Naturalized Arabs being the descendants of Ismael the Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modad the Jorhamite.

The Descents from Ismael to Adnân are confessedly uncertain. The most approved lists enumerates eight Generations between those two Persons in the following order; nael, Kidâr, Hamal, Nabet, Salâmân, al Homeisa, al Yasâ, Odad, Odd, Adnân. Al Beihaki reckons one Generation less, differing also in the Names, in this manner; Ismael, Nabet, shhab, Yârab, Yârah, Yâhûr, al Mokawwam, Odad, Adnân. But Mohâmed himself, if a addition of his Wife Omm Salma is to be depended on, counted no more than three rsons; viz: Berâ, Zeid, and Odad, between Ismael and Adnân, Berâ being the same with Nabet, and Zeid with al Homeisa.



THE PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

SECTION I.

Of the Arabs before Mohammed, or, as they express it, in the time of ignorance; their history, religion, learning, and customs.

THE Arabs, and the country they inhabit, which themselves call Jezîrat al Arab, or the Peninsula of the Arabians, but we Arabia, were so named from Araba, a small territory in the province of Tehâma¹; to which Yarab the son of Kahtân, the father of the ancient Arabs, gave his name, and where, some ages after, dwelt Ismael the son of Abraham by Hagar. The Christian writers for several centuries speak of them under the appellation of Saracens; the most certain derivation of which word is from shark, the east, where the descendants of Joctan, the Kahtân of the Arabs, are placed by Moses², and in which quarter they dwelt in respect to the Jews³.

The name of Arabia (used in a more extensive sense) sometimes comprehends all that large tract of land bounded by the river Euphrates, the Persian Gulf, the Sindian, Indian, and Red Seas, and part of the Mediterranean: above two-thirds of which

¹ Pocock, Specim. Hist. Arab. 33. Specim 33, 34.

² Genes. x. 30.

³ See Pocock.

country, that is, Arabia properly so called, the Arabs have possessed almost from the flood; and have made themselves masters of the rest, either by settlements, or continual incursions; for which reason the Turks and Persians at this day call the whole Arabistân, or the country of the Arabs.

But the limits of Arabia, in its more usual and proper sense, are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the Isthmus, which runs from Aila to the head of the Persian Gulf, and the borders of the territory of Cûfa; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the Happy. The eastern geographers make Arabia Petræa to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shâm or Syria, and the desert Arabia they call the deserts of Syria¹.

Proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces², viz. Yaman, Hejâz, Tehâma, Najd, and Yamâma; to which some add Bahrein, as a sixth, but this province the more exact make part of Irâk³: others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejâz, the last including the three other provinces of Tehâma, Najd, and Yamâma.

The province of Yaman, so called either from its situation to the right hand, or south of the temple of Mecca, or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends itself along the Indian ocean from Aden to cape Rasalgat; part of the Red Sea bounds it on the west and south sides, and the province of Hejâz on the north⁴. It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramaut, Shihr, Omân, Najrân, &c. of which Shihr alone produces the frankincense⁵. The metropolis of Yaman is Sanaa, a very ancient city, in former times called Ozal, and much celebrated for its delightful situation; but the prince at present resides about five leagues north-

¹ Golius ad Alfragan. 78, 79.

² Strabo says Arabia Felix was in his time divided into five kingdoms, l. 16, p. 1129.

³ Gol. ad Alfragan. 79.

⁴ La Roque, Voyage de l'Arab. heur. 121.

⁵ Gol. ad Alfragan. 79. 87.

ward from thence, at a place no less pleasant, called Hisn almawâheb, or the Castle of delights¹.

This country has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches², which induced Alexander the Great, after his return from his Indian expedition, to form a design of conquering it, and fixing there his royal seat; but his death, which happened soon after, prevented the execution of this project³. Yet in reality, great part of the riches which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came really from the Indies, and the coasts of Africa; for the Egyptians, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, to themselves, industriously concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports shut to prevent foreigners penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information thence: and this precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, unpassable to strangers, on the other, were the reason why Arabia was so little known to the Greeks and Romans. The delightfulness and plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains; for all that part which lies along the Red Sea is a dry, barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over, but in return bounded by those mountains, which being well watered, enjoy an almost continual spring, and besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. There are no rivers of note in this country, for the streams which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast⁴.

The soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising

¹ Voyage de l' Arab. heur. 232.

² Strabo, l. 16. p. 1132. Arrian. 161.

³ V. Dionys. Perieges. v. 927, &c.

⁴ Voy. de l' Arab. heur. 121. 123. 153.

into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm trees.

The province of Hejâz, so named because it divides Najd from Tehâma, is bounded on the south by Yaman and Tehâma, on the west by the Red Sea, on the north by the deserts of Syria, and on the east by the province of Najd ¹. This province is famous for its two chief cities, Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to Mohammed; and the other for being the place of his residence, for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment.

Mecca, sometimes also called Becca, which words are synonymous, and signify a place of great concourse, is certainly one of the most ancient cities in the world: it is by some ² thought to be the Mesa of the scripture³, a name not unknown to the Arabians, and supposed to be taken from one of Ismael's sons ⁴. It is seated in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides with mountains ⁵. The length of Mecca, from south to north, is about two miles, and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain Ajyad, to the top of another called Koaikaân, about a mile ⁶. In the midst of this space stands the city, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains ⁷. There being no springs at Mecca ⁸, at least none but what are bitter and unfit to drink ⁹, except only the well Zemzem, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackish, and causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it ¹⁰, the inhabitants are obliged to use rain water which they catch in cisterns ¹¹. But this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither

¹ V. Gol. ad Alfrag. 98. Abulfeda Descr. Arab. p. 5.

² R. Saadias in

version. Arab. Pentat. Sefer Juchasin. 135. b.

³ Gen. x. 30.

⁴ Gol. ad

Alfrag. 82. See Gen. xxv. 15.

⁵ Gol. ib. 98. See Pitts' account of the

religion and manners of the Mohammedans, p. 96.

⁶ Sharif al Edrisi

apud Poc. Specim. 122.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Gol. ad Alfragan. 99.

⁹ Sharif al Edrisi ubi supra, 124.

¹⁰ Ibid. and Pitts ubi supra, p. 107.

¹¹ Gol. ad Alfrag. 99.

from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about Mohammed's time, Zobair, one of the principal men of the tribe of Koreish, endeavoured at a great expense to supply the city with water from mount Arafat, but without success; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Solimân the Turkish emperor¹. But, long before this, another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years labour, finished by the Khalif al Moktader².

The soil about Mecca is so very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, though the prince or Sharif has a garden well planted at his castle of Marbaa, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides. Having therefore no corn or grain of their own growth, they are obliged to fetch it from other places³; and Hashem, Mohammed's great-grandfather, then prince of his tribe, the more effectually to supply them with provisions, appointed two caravans to set out yearly for that purpose, the one in summer, and the other in winter⁴: these caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the Korân. The provisions brought by them were distributed also twice a year, viz. in the month of Rajeb, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. They are supplied with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tayef, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at Mecca. The inhabitants of this city are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandise. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently in a place where almost every necessary of

¹ Gol. ad Alfrag. 99.

² Sharif al Edrisi ubi sup.

³ Idem ib.

⁴ Poc. Spcc. 51.

life must be purchased with money. Notwithstanding this great sterility near Mecca, yet you are no sooner out of its territory than you meet on all sides with plenty of good springs and streams of running water, with a great many gardens and cultivated lands ¹.

The temple of Mecca, and the reputed holiness of this territory, will be treated of in a more proper place.

Medina, which till Mohammed's retreat thither was called Yathreb, is a walled city about half as big as Mecca ², built in a plain, salt in many places, yet tolerably fruitful, particularly in dates, but more especially near the mountains, two of which, Ohod on the north, and Air on the south, are about two leagues distant. Here lies Mohammed interred ³ in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city ⁴.

The province of Tehâma was so named from the vehement heat of its sandy soil, and is also called Gaur from its low situation; it is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, and on the other sides by Hejâz and Yaman, extending almost from Mecca to Aden ⁵.

¹ Sharif al Edrisi ubi supra, 125.

² Id. Vulgò Geogr. Nubiensis, 5.

³ Though the notion of Mohammed's being buried at Mecca has been so long exploded, yet several modern writers, whether through ignorance or negligence I will not determine, have fallen into it. I shall here take notice only of two; one is Dr. Smith, who having lived some time in Turkey, seems to be inexcusable: that gentleman in his *Epistles de moribus ac insitutis Turcarum*, no less than thrice mentions the Mohammedans visiting the tomb of their prophet at Mecca, and once his being born at Medina, the reverse of which is true (see Ep. 1. p. 22. Ep. 2. p. 63 and 64). The other is the publisher of the last edition of Sir J. Mandeville's travels, who, on his author's saying very truly (p. 50.) that the said tomb was at Methone (i. e. Medina), undertakes to correct the name of the town, which is something corrupted, by putting at the bottom of the page, Mecca. The Abbot de Vertot in his history of the order of Malta (vol. i. p. 410. ed. 8vo.) seems also to have confounded these two cities together, though he had before mentioned Mohammed's sepulchre at Medina. However, he is certainly mistaken, when he says that one point of the religion, both of the Christians and Mohammedans, was to visit, at least once in their lives, the tomb of the author of their respective faith. Whatever may be the opinion of some Christians, I am well assured the Mohammedans think themselves under no manner of obligation in that respect.

⁴ Gol. ad Alfragan. 97. Abulfeda Descr. Arab. p. 40.

⁵ Gol. ubi sup. 95.

The province of Najd, which word signifies a rising country, lies between those of Yamâma, Yaman, and Hejâz, and is bounded on the east by Irak¹.

The province of Yamâma, also called Arûd from its oblique situation, in respect of Yaman, is surrounded by the provinces of Najd, Tehâma, Bahrein, Omân, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamâma, which gives name to the province: it was anciently called Jaw, and is particularly famous for being the residence of Mohammed's competitor, the false prophet Moseilama².

The Arabians, the inhabitants of this spacious country, which they have possessed from the most remote antiquity, are distinguished by their own writers into two classes, viz. the old lost Arabians, and the present.

The former were very numerous, and divided into several tribes, which are now all destroyed, or else lost and swallowed up among the other tribes, nor are any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them³; though the memory of some very remarkable events and the catastrophe of some tribes have been preserved by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the Korân.

The most famous tribes amongst these ancient Arabians were Ad, Thamûd, Tasm, Jadîs, the former Jorham, and Amalek.

The tribe of Ad were descended from Ad, the son of Aws⁴, the son of Aram⁵, the son of Sem, the son of Noah, who after the confusion of tongues settled in al Ahkâf, or the winding sands, in the province of Hadramaut, where his posterity greatly multiplied. Their first king was Shedâd the son of Ad, of whom the eastern writers deliver many fabulous things, particularly that he finished the magnificent city his father had begun, wherein he built a fine palace,

¹ Gol. ubi sup. 94.

² Ib. 95.

³ Abulfarag. p. 159.

⁴ Or Uz. Gen. x. 22, 23.

⁵ V. Kor. c. 89. Some make Ad the son of Amalek, the son of Ham; but the other is the received opinion. See D'Herbel. 51.

adorned with delicious gardens, to embellish which he spared neither cost nor labour, purposing thereby to create in his subjects a superstitious veneration of himself as a God¹. This garden or paradise was called the garden of Irem, and is mentioned in the Korân², and often alluded to by the oriental writers. The city, they tell us, is still standing in the deserts of Aden, being preserved by providence as a monument of divine justice, though it be invisible, unless very rarely, when God permits it to be seen; a favour one Colabah pretended to have received in the reign of the Khalîf Moâwiyah, who sending for him to know the truth of the matter, Colabah related his whole adventure; that as he was seeking a camel he had lost, he found himself on a sudden at the gates of this city, and entering it saw not one inhabitant, at which being terrified, he stayed no longer than to take with him some fine stones which he showed the Khalîf³.

The descendants of Ad in process of time falling from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hûd (who is generally agreed to be Heber⁴) to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, or to obey him, God sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together, and entering at their nostrils passed through their bodies⁵, and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hûd, and retired with him to another place⁶. That prophet afterwards returned into Hadramaut, and was buried near Hasec, where there is a small town now standing called Kabr Hûd, or the sepulchre of Hûd. Before the Adites were thus severely punished, God to humble them, and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, afflicted them with a drought for four years,

¹ V. Eund. 498. ² Cap. 89. ³ D'Herbel. 51. ⁴ The Jews
acknowledge Heber to have been a great prophet. Seder Olam. p. 2. ⁵ Al
Beidâwi. ⁶ Poc. Spec. 35, &c.

so that all their cattle perished, and themselves were very near it; upon which they sent Lokmân (different from one of the same name who lived in David's time) with sixty others to Mecca to beg rain, which they not obtaining, Lokmân with some of his company stayed at Mecca, and thereby escaped destruction, giving rise to a tribe called the latter Ad, who were afterward changed into monkeys ¹.

Some commentators on the Korân ² tell us these old Adites were of prodigious stature, the largest being a hundred cubits high, and the least sixty; which extraordinary size they pretend to prove by the testimony of the Korân ³.

The tribe of Thamûd were the posterity of Thamûd the son of Gather ⁴ the son of Aram, who falling into idolatry, the prophet Sâleh was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true God. This prophet lived between the time of Hud and of Abraham, and therefore cannot be the same with the patriarch Selah, as Mr. d'Herbelot imagines ⁵. The learned Bochart with more probability takes him to be Phaleg ⁶. A small number of the people of Thamûd hearkened to the remonstrances of Sâleh, but the rest requiring, as a proof of his mission, that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence, he accordingly obtained it of God, and the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned; but they, instead of believing, cut the hamstrings of the camel and killed her; at which act of impiety God being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some ⁷ say, was the voice of Gabriel the archangel crying aloud, Die all of you. Sâleh, with those who were reformed by him, were saved from this destruction; the prophet going into

¹ Poc. Spec. 36.

² Jallâlo'ddin et Zamakhshari.

³ Kor. c. 7.

⁴ Or Gether. V. Gen. x. 23.

⁵ D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. 740.

⁶ Bochart

Geogr. Sac.

⁷ See D'Herbel. 366.

Palestine, and from thence to Mecca¹, where he ended his days.

This tribe first dwelt in Yaman, but being expelled thence by Hamyar the son of Saba², they settled in the territory of Hejr in the province of Hejâz, where their habitations cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Korân³, are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye witness⁴ hath declared, is sixty cubits wide. These houses of the Thamudites being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature⁵.

The tragical destructions of these two potent tribes are often insisted on in the Korân, as instances of God's judgment on obstinate unbelievers.

The tribe of Tasm were the posterity of Lûd the son of Sem, and Jadîs of the descendants of Jether⁶. These two tribes dwelt promiscuously together under the government of Tasm, till a certain tyrant made a law, that no maid of the tribe of Jadîs should marry, unless first deflowered by him⁷; which the Jadisians not enduring, formed a conspiracy, and inviting the king and chiefs of Tasm to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand, and in the midst of their mirth fell on them and slew them all, and extirpated the greatest part of that tribe; however, the few who escaped obtaining aid of the king of Yaman, then (as is said) Dhu Habshân Ebn Akrân⁸ assaulted the Jadîs and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of those tribes⁹.

The former tribe of Jorham (whose ancestor some

¹ Ebn Shohnah.
Musa al Ashari.

² Poc. Spec. 57.

⁵ V. Poc. Spec. 37.

³ Kor. cap. 15.

⁶ Abulfeda.

⁴ Abu

⁷ A like custom is said to have been in some manors in England, and also in Scotland, where it was called Culliage or Cullage, having been established by K. Ewen, and abolished by Malcolm III. See Bayle's Dict. Art. Sixte IV. Rem. H.

⁸ Poc. Spec. 60.

⁹ Ib. 37, &c.

pretend was one of the eighty persons saved in the ark with Noah, according to a Mohammedan tradition¹) was contemporary with Ad, and utterly perished². The tribe of Amalek were descended from Amalek the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau³, though some of the oriental authors say Amalek was the son of Ham the son of Noah⁴, and others the son of Azd the son of Sem⁵. The posterity of this person rendered themselves very powerful⁶, and before the time of Joseph, conquered the lower Egypt under their king Walîd, the first who took the name of Pharaoh, as the eastern writers tell us⁷; seeming by these Amalekites to mean the same people which the Egyptian histories call Phœnician shepherds⁸. But after they had possessed the throne of Egypt for some descents, they were expelled by the natives, and at length totally destroyed by the Israelites⁹.

The present Arabians, according to their own historians, are sprung from two stocks, Kahtân, the same with Joctan the son of Eber¹⁰, and Adnân descended in a direct line from Ismael the son of Abraham and Hagar; the posterity of the former they call al Arab al Ariba¹¹, i. e. the genuine or pure Arabs, and those of the latter al Arab al mostâreba, i. e. naturalized or insititious Arabs, though some reckon the ancient lost tribes to have been the only pure Arabians, and therefore call the posterity of Kahtân also Môtareba, which word likewise signifies insititious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Mostareba; the descendants of Ismael being the more distant graff.

The posterity of Ismael have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs; their ancestor being by origin

¹ Poc. Spec. 38. ² Ebn Shohnah. ³ Gen. xxxvi. 12. ⁴ V. D'Herbelot, p. 110. ⁵ Ebn Shohnah. ⁶ V. Numb. xxiv. 20. ⁷ Mirât Cainât. ⁸ V. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. ⁹ V. Exod. xvii. 18, &c. 1 Sam. xv. 2. &c. Ib. xxvii. 8, 9. 1 Chron. iv. 43. ¹⁰ R. Saad. in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. x. 25. Some writers make Kahtân a descendant of Ismael, but against the current of oriental historians. See Poc. Spec. 39. ¹¹ An expression something like that of St. Paul, who calls himself an Hebrew of the Hebrews. Philipp. iii. 5.

and language an Hebrew, but having made an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marrying a daughter of Modad, and accustomed himself to their manner of living and language, his descendants became blended with them into one nation. The uncertainty of the descents between Ismael and Adnân, is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they acknowledge as father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted¹.

The genealogy of these tribes being of great use to illustrate the Arabian history, I have taken the pains to form a genealogical table from their most approved authors, to which I refer the curious.

Besides these tribes of Arabs, mentioned by their own authors, who were all descended from the race of Sem, others of them were the posterity of Ham by his son Cush, which name is in scripture constantly given to the Arabs and their country, though our version renders it Ethiopia; but strictly speaking, the Cushites did not inhabit Arabia properly so called, but the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, whither they came from Chuzestân or Susiana, the original settlement of their father². They might probably mix themselves in process of time with the Arabs of the other race, but the eastern writers take little or no notice of them.

The Arabians were for some centuries under the government of the descendants of Kâhtan; Yârab, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorham, another of them, that of Hejâz.

The province of Yaman, or the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was governed by princes of the tribe of Hamyar, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendants of Cahlân his brother, who yet retained the title of king of Hamyar, and had all of them the general title of Tobba, which signifies successor, and

¹ Poc. Spec. p. 40.

² V. Hyde Hist. Rel. veter. Persar. p. 37, &c.

was affected to this race of princes, as that of Cæsar was to the Roman emperors, and Khalîf to the successors of Mohammed. There were several lesser princes who reigned in other parts of Yaman, and were mostly, if not altogether, subject to the king of Hamyar, whom they called the great king, but of these history has recorded nothing remarkable or that may be depended upon¹.

The first great calamity that befell the tribes settled in Yaman was the inundation of Aram, which happened soon after the time of Alexander the Great, and is famous in the Arabian history. No less than eight tribes were forced to abandon their dwellings upon this occasion, some of which gave rise to the two kingdoms of Ghassan and Hira. And this was probably the time of the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into Mesopotamia by three chiefs, Becr, Modar, and Rabîa, from whom the three provinces of that country are still named Diyar Becr, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabîa². Abdsheems, surnamed Saba, having built the city from him called Saba, and afterwards Mareb, made a vast mound or dam³ to serve as a bason or reservoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the use of the inhabitants, and watering their lands, but also to keep the country they had subjected in greater awe by being masters of the water. This building stood like a mountain above their city, and was by them esteemed so strong, that they were in no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost 20 fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of the inhabitants had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length God being highly displeased at their great pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them,

¹ Poc. Spec. p. 65, 66.
Spec. p. 57.

² V. Gol. ad Alfrag. p. 232.

³ Poc.

sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people¹.

The tribes which remained in Yaman after this terrible devastation still continued under the obedience of the former princes, till about 70 years before Mohammed, when the king of Ethiopia sent over forces to assist the Christians of Yaman against the cruel persecution of their king Dhu Nowâs, a bigoted Jew, whom they drove to that extremity, that he forced his horse into the sea, and so lost his life and crown²; after which the country was governed by four Ethiopian princes successively, till Seif the son of Dhu Yazan of the tribe of Hamyar obtaining succours from Khosrû Anushirwân king of Persia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne and drove out the Ethiopians, but was himself slain by some of them who were left behind. The Persians appointed the succeeding princes till Yaman fell into the hands of Mohammed, to whom Bazan, or rather Badhân, the last of them, submitted, and embraced his new religion³.

This kingdom of the Hamyarites is said to have lasted 2020 years⁴, or as others say above 3000⁵; the length of the reign of each prince being very uncertain.

It has been already observed that two kingdoms were founded by those who left their country on occasion of the inundation of Aram: they were both out of the proper limits of Arabia. One of them was the kingdom of Ghassân. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Azd, who settling in Syria Damascena near a water called Ghassân, thence took their name, and drove out the Dajaamian

¹ Geogr. Nubiens. p. 52.

³ Poc. Spec. p. 63, 64.
Ebn Yusef.

² See Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p. 61.

⁴ Abulfeda.

⁵ Al Jannâbi and Ahmed

Arabs of the tribe of Salîh, who before possessed the country¹; where they maintained their kingdom 400 years, as others say 600, or as Abulfeda more exactly computes 616. Five of these princes were named Hâreth, which the Greeks write Aretas: and one of them it was whose governor ordered the gates of Damascus to be watched to take St. Paul². This tribe were Christians, their last king being Jabalah the son of al Ayham, who on the Arabs' successes in Syria professed Mohammedism under the Khalîf Omar; but receiving a disgust from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople³.

The other kingdom was that of Hira, which was founded by Malec of the descendants of Cahlân⁴ in Chaldea or Irâk; but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians, called also the Mondars (the general name of those princes), who preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the Khalîfat of Abubecr, when al Mondar al Maghrûr, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walîd. This kingdom lasted 622 years eight months⁵. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Persia, whose lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irâk, as the kings of Ghassân were for the Roman emperors over those of Syria⁶.

Jorham the son of Kahtân reigned in Hejâz, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of Ismael, but on his marrying the daughter of Modad, by whom he had twelve sons, Kidar, one of them, had the crown resigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites⁷, though others say the descendants of Ismael expelled that tribe, who retiring to Johainah,

¹ Poc. Spec. p. 76.² 2 Cor. xi. 32. Acts ix. 24.³ V. Ockley's

Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. i. p. 174.

⁴ Poc. Spec. p. 66.⁵ Ib. p. 74.⁶ Ib. and Procop. in Pers. apud Photium. p. 71, &c.⁷ Poc. Spec. p. 45.

were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation¹.

Of the kings of Hamyar, Hira, Ghassân, and Jorham, Dr. Pocock has given us catalogues tolerably exact, to which I refer the curious².

After the expulsion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hejâz seems not to have continued for many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes; almost in the same manner as the Arabs of the desert are governed at this day. At Mecca an aristocracy prevailed, where the chief management of affairs till the time of Mohammed was in the tribe of Koreish; especially after they had gotten the custody of the Caaba from the tribe of Khozâah³.

Besides the kingdoms which have been taken notice of, there were some other tribes, which, in latter times, had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note; particularly the tribe of Kenda⁴: but as I am not writing a just history of the Arabs, and an account of them would be of no great use to my present purpose, I shall wave any further mention of them.

After the time of Mohammed, Arabia was for about three centuries under the Khalîfs his successors. But in the year 325 of the Hejra, great part of that country was in the hands of the Karmatians⁵, a new sect who had committed great outrages and disorders even in Mecca, and to whom the Khalîfs were obliged to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might be performed: of this sect I may have occasion to speak in another place. Afterwards Yaman was governed by the house of Thabateba, descended from Ali the son-in-law of Mohammed, whose sovereignty in Arabia some place so high as the time of Charlemagne. However, it was the posterity of Ali, or

¹ Poc. Spec. p. 79.
Life of Mahomet, p. 2.

² Ib. p. 55. seq.

³ V. Ib. p. 41, and Prideaux's

⁴ V. Poc. Spec. p. 79, &c.

⁵ V. Elmacin. in

vita al Râdi.

pretenders to be such, who reigned in Yaman and Egypt so early as the tenth century. The present reigning family in Yaman is probably that of Ayub, a branch of which reigned there in the thirteenth century. and took the title of Khalif and Imâm, which they still retain ¹. They are not possessed of the whole province of Yaman ², there being several other independent kingdoms there, particularly that of Fartach. The crown of Yaman descends not regularly from father to son, but the prince of the blood royal who is most in favour with the great ones, or has the strongest interest, generally succeeds ³.

The governors of Mecca and Medina, who have always been of the race of Mohammed, also threw off their subjection to the Khalîfs, since which time four principal families, all descended from Hasan the son of Ali, have reigned there under the title of Sharîf, which signifies noble, as they reckon themselves to be on account of their descent. These are Banu Kâder, Banu Mûsa Thani, Banu Hashem, and Banu Kitâda ⁴; which last family now is, or lately was, in the throne of Mecca, where they have reigned above 500 years. The reigning family at Medina are the Banu Hashem, who also reigned at Mecca before those of Kitâda ⁵.

The kings of Yaman, as well as the princes of Mecca and Medina, are absolutely independent ⁶, and not at all subject to the Turk, as some late authors have imagined ⁷. These princes often making cruel wars among themselves, gave an opportunity to Selim I. and his son Solimân, to make themselves masters of the coasts of Arabia on the Red sea, and of part of Yaman, by means of a fleet built at Sues: but their successors have not been able to maintain their conquests; for, except the port of Jodda, where they have a Basha whose authority is very small, they possess nothing considerable in Arabia ⁸.

¹ Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 255. ² Ib. 153. 273. ³ Ib. 254.
⁴ Ib. 143. ⁵ Ib. 145. ⁶ Ib. 143. 148. ⁷ V. D'Herbel. Bibl.
Orient. p. 477. ⁸ Voy. de l'Arab. heur. p. 148.

Thus have the Arabs preserved their liberty, of which few nations can produce so ancient monuments, with very little interruption from the very deluge; for though very great armies have been sent against them, all attempts to subdue them were unsuccessful. The Assyrian or Median empires never got footing among them¹. The Persian monarchs, though they were their friends, and so far respected by them as to have an annual present of frankincense², yet could never make them tributary³; and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyzes, on his expedition against Egypt, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories⁴; and when Alexander had subdued that mighty empire, yet the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him, either first or last; which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country, made him form a design against it, and had he not died before he could put it in execution⁵, this people might possibly have convinced him that he was not invincible; and I do not find that any of his successors either in Asia or Egypt, ever made any attempt against them⁶. The Romans never conquered any part of Arabia properly so called; the most they did was to make some tribes in Syria tributary to them, as Pompey did one commanded by Sampsiceramus or Shams' al-kerâm who reigned at Hems or Emesa⁷; but none of the Romans, or any other nations that we know of, ever penetrated so far into Arabia as Ælius Gallus under Augustus Cæsar⁸; yet he was so far from subduing it, as some authors pretend⁹, that he was soon obliged to return without effecting any thing considerable, having lost the best part of his army

¹ Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 131. ² Herodot. l. 3. c. 97. ³ Idem ib. c. 91.
Diodor. ubi sup. ⁴ Herodot. l. 3. c. 8 and 98. ⁵ Strabo, l. 16. p. 1076.
1132. ⁶ V. Diodor. Sic. ubi supra. ⁷ Strabo, l. 16. p. 1092. ⁸ Dion
Cassius, l. 53. p. m. 516. ⁹ Huet Hist. du commerce et de la navigation
des anciens, c. 50.

by sickness and other accidents¹. This ill success probably discouraged the Romans from attacking them any more; for Trajan, notwithstanding the flatteries of the historians and orators of his time, and the medals struck by him, did not subdue the Arabs; the province of Arabia, which it is said he added to the Roman empire, scarce reaching farther than Arabia Petræa, or the very skirts of the country. And we are told by one author², that this prince marching against the Agarens, who had revolted, met with such a reception that he was obliged to return without doing any thing.

The religion of the Arabs before Mohammed, which they call the state of ignorance, in opposition to the knowledge of God's true worship revealed to them by their prophet, was chiefly gross idolatry; the Sabian religion having almost overrun the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians, among them.

I shall not here transcribe what Dr. Prideaux³ has written of the original of the Sabian religion; but instead thereof insert a brief account of the tenets and worship of that sect. They do not only believe one God, but produce many strong arguments for his unity; though they also pay an adoration to the stars, or the angels and intelligences which they suppose reside in them, and govern the world under the supreme Deity. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues, and believe the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but will afterwards be received to mercy. They are obliged to pray three times⁴ a day, the first, half an hour or less before sun-rise, ordering it so that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations⁵; the second

¹ See the whole expedition described at large by Strabo, l. 16, p. 1126, &c.

² Xiphilin. epit.

³ Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. p. 1. b. 3.

⁴ Some say seven. See D'Herbelot, p. 726, and Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 128.

⁵ Others say they use no incurvations or prostrations at all. V. Hyde, ib.

prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in saying which they perform five such adorations as the former ; and the same they do the third time, ending just as the sun sets. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the next nine days, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlick, and some other pulse and vegetables¹. As to the Sabian Kebla, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ ; one will have it to be the north², another the south, a third Mecca, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions³ ; and perhaps there may be some variety in their practice in this respect. They go on pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harran in Mesopotamia, where great numbers of them dwell, and they have also a great respect for the temple of Mecca, and the pyramids of Egypt⁴ ; fancying these last to be the sepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi his two sons, whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion ; at these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense⁵. Besides the book of Psalms, the only true scripture they read, they have other books which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the Chaldee tongue which they call the book of Seth, and is full of moral discourses. This sect say, they took the name of Sabians from the above-mentioned Sabi, though it seems rather to be derived from **סבא** Saba⁶ or the host of heaven, which they worship⁷. Travellers commonly call them Christians of St. John the Baptist, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the greatest mark they bear of Christianity. This is one

¹ Abulfarag, Hist. Dynast. p. 281, &c. ² Idem ib. ³ Hyde, ubi supr. p. 124, &c.

⁴ D'Herbel. ubi supr. ⁵ See Greave's Pyramidogr. p. 6, 7.

⁶ V. Poc. Spec. p. 138.

⁷ Thabet Ebn Korrah, a famous astronomer, and himself a Sabian, wrote a treatise in Syriac, concerning the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of this sect ; from which, if it could be recovered, we might expect much better information than any taken from the Arabian writers. V. Abulfarag, ubi sup.

of the religions, the practice of which Mohammed tolerated (on paying tribute), and the professors of it are often included in that expression of the Korân, those to whom the scriptures have been given, or literally, people of the book.

The idolatry of the Arabs then, as Sabians, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whose intercession they begged, as their mediators with God. For the Arabs acknowledged one supreme God, the Creator and Lord of the universe, whom they called Allah Taâla, the most high God, and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply al Ilahât, i. e. the goddesses; which words the Grecians not understanding, and it being their constant custom to resolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pretend the Arabs worshipped only two deities, Orotalt and Alilat, as those names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the same with Bacchus and Urania; pitching on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods, and educated in Arabia, and on the other, because of the veneration shown by the Arabs to the stars¹.

That they acknowledged one supreme God, appears, to omit other proof, from their usual form of addressing themselves to him, which was this, "I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! Thou hast no companion, except thy companion of whom thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his²." So that they supposed the idols not to be *sui juris*, though they offered sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, who was also often put off with the least portion, as Mohammed upbraids them. Thus, when they planted fruit trees, or sowed a field, they divided

¹ V. Herodot. 1. 3. c. 8. Arrian, p. 161, 162. and Strab. 1. 16.

² Al Shahrestani.

it by a line into two parts, setting one apart for their idols, and the other for God; if any of the fruits happened to fall from the idol's part into God's, they made restitution; but if from God's part into the idol's, they made no restitution. So when they watered the idol's grounds, if the water broke over the channels made for that purpose, and ran on God's part, they dammed it up again; but if the contrary, they let it run on, saying, they wanted what was God's, but he wanted nothing¹. In the same manner, if the offering designed for God happened to be better than that designed for the idol, they made an exchange, but not otherwise².

It was from this gross idolatry, or the worship of inferior deities, or companions of God, as the Arabs continue to call them, that Mohammed reclaimed his countrymen, establishing the sole worship of the true God among them; so that how much soever the Mohammedans are to blame in other points, they are far from being idolaters, as some ignorant writers have pretended.

The worship of the stars the Arabs might easily be led into, from their observing the changes of weather to happen at the rising or setting of certain of them³, which, after a long course of experience, induced them to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and to think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country: this superstition the Korân particularly takes notice of⁴.

The ancient Arabians and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets; one of which in particular, called Beit Ghomdân, was built in Sanaa the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of al Zoharah or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the Khalif

¹ Nodhm al dorr.
p. 163.

² Al Bcidawi.

³ V. Post.

⁴ V. Poc. Spec.

Othman¹; by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetic inscription set, as is reported, over this temple, viz. Ghomdân, he who destroyeth thee, shall be slain². The temple of Mecca is also said to have been consecrated to Zohal or Saturn³.

Though these deities were generally revered by the whole nation, yet each tribe chose some one as the more peculiar object of their worship.

Thus, as to the stars and planets, the tribe of Hamyar chiefly worshipped the sun; Misam⁴, al Debarân or the bull's eye; Lakhm and Jodâm, al Moshtari or Jupiter; Tay, Sohail or Canopus; Kais, Sirius or the dog-star; and Asad, Otâred or Mercury⁵. Among the worshippers of Sirius, one Abu Cabsha was very famous; some will have him to be the same with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather by the mother, but others say he was of the tribe of Khozâah. This man used his utmost endeavours to persuade the Koreish to leave their images and worship this star; for which reason Mohammed, who endeavoured also to make them leave their images, was by them nicknamed the son of Abu Cabsha⁶. The worship of this star is particularly hinted at in the Korân⁷.

Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, the Korân⁸ makes mention only of three, which were worshipped under female names⁹; Allat, al Uzza, and Manah. These were by them called goddesses, and the daughters of God; an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but also to their images, which they either believed to be inspired with life by God, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they gave them divine worship, because they imagined they interceded for them with God.

Allât was the idol of the tribe of Thakîf who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple consecrated to her

¹ Shahrestani. ² Al Jamûabi. ³ Shahrestani, ⁴ This name seems to be corrupted, there being no such among the Arab tribes. Poc. Spec. p. 130. ⁵ Abulfarag, p. 160. ⁶ Poc. Spec. p. 132. ⁷ Cap. 53. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid.

in a place called Nakhlah. This idol al Mogheirah destroyed by Mohammed's order, who sent him and Abu Sofîân on that commission in the ninth year of the Hejra ¹. The inhabitants of Tayef, especially the women, bitterly lamented the loss of this their deity, which they were so fond of, that they begged of Mohammed, as a condition of peace, that it might not be destroyed for three years, and not obtaining that, asked only a month's respite; but he absolutely denied it ². There are several derivations of this word which the curious may learn from Dr. Pocock ³. It seems most probably to be derived from the same root with Allah, to which it may be a feminine, and will then signify the goddess.

Al Uzza, as some affirm, was the idol of the tribes of Koreish and Kenânah ⁴, and part of the tribe of Salim ⁵: others ⁶ tell us it was a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Acacia, worshipped by the tribe of Ghatfân, first consecrated by one Dhâlem, who built a chapel over it, called Boss, so contrived as to give a sound when any person entered. Khâled Ebn Walîd being sent by Mohammed in the eighth year of the Hejra to destroy this idol, demolished the chapel, and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it: he also slew the priestess, who ran out with her hair dishevelled, and her hands on her head as a suppliant. Yet the author who relates this, in another place says, the chapel was pulled down, and Dhâlem himself killed by one Zohair, because he consecrated this chapel with design to draw the pilgrims thither from Mecca, and lessen the reputation of the Caaba. The name of this deity is derived from the root azza, and signifies the most mighty.

Manah was the object of worship of the tribes of

¹ Dr. Prideaux mentions this expedition, but names only Abu Sofîân, and mistaking the name of the idol for an appellative, supposes he went only to disarm the Tayeffians of their weapons and instruments of war. See his *Life of Mahomet*, p. 98. ² Abulfeda, *Vit. Moham.* p. 127. ³ *Spec.* p. 90. ⁴ *Al Jauhari*, apud eund. p. 91. ⁵ *Al Shihrestani*, ib. ⁶ *Al Firauzabâdi*, ib.

Hodhail and Khozâah ¹, who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as some say ², of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakîf also. This idol was a large stone ³, demolished by one Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, a year so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems derived from mana to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of Mina ⁴ near Mecca had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices ⁵.

Before we proceed to the other idols, let us take notice of five more, which, with the former three, are all the Korân mentions by name, and they are Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yâûk, and Nasr. These are said to have been antediluvian idols, which Noah preached against, and were afterwards taken by the Arabs for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whose statues they revered at first with a civil honour only, which, in process of time, became heightened to a divine worship ⁶.

Wadd was supposed to be the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb in Dumat al Jandal ⁷.

Sawâ was adored, under the shape of a woman, by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others ⁸ write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, it is said, discovered by the devil, and was worshipped by those of Hodhail, who instituted pilgrimages to it ⁹.

Yaghûth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madhaj and others who dwelt in Yaman ¹⁰. Its name seems to be derived from ghatha, which signifies to help.

Yâûk was worshipped by the tribe of Morâd, or according to others, by that of Hamadan ¹¹ under the

¹ Al Jauhari.
Zamakhshari.

² Al Shahrestani, Abulfeda, &c.

⁴ Poc. Spec. 91, &c.

⁵ Ibid.

Comment. Persic. V. Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 133.

Shahrestani.

⁶ Idem, al Firauzabâdi, and Safio'ddin.

¹⁰ Shahrestani.

¹¹ Al Jauhari.

³ Al Beidâwi. al

⁶ Korân, c. 71.

⁷ Al Jauhari. al

⁹ Al Firauzab.

figure of a horse. It is said he was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done; and seven others of extraordinary merit had the same honours shown them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest¹. The name Yäûk probably comes from the verb âka to prevent or avert².

Nasr was a deity adored by the tribe of Hamyar, or at Dhû'l Khalaah, in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies.

There are, or were, two statues at Bamiyân, a city of Cabul in the Indies, fifty cubits high, which some writers suppose to be the same with Yaghûth and Yäûk, or else with Manah and Allât; and they also speak of a third standing near the others, but something less, in the shape of an old woman, called Nesrem or Nesr. These statues were hollow within for the secret giving of oracles³; but they seem to have been different from the Arabian idols. There was also an idol at Sûmenat in the Indies, called Lât or al Lât, whose statue was fifty fathoms high, of a single stone, and placed in the midst of a temple supported by fifty-six pillars of massy gold; this idol Mahmûd Ebn Sebecteghin, who conquered that part of India, broke to pieces with his own hands⁴.

Besides the idols we have mentioned, the Arabs worshipped also great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have distinct accounts given of them, and not being named in the Korân, are not so much to our present purpose: for besides that every house-keeper had his household god, or gods, which he last took leave of, and first saluted at his going abroad and returning home⁵,

¹ Al Firauzabad. p. 132.

² Poc. Spec. 94.

⁴ D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 512.

³ See Hyde de rel. vet. Pers.

⁵ Al Mostatraf.

there were no less than three hundred and sixty idols ¹, equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the Caaba of Mecca; the chief of whom was Hobal ², brought from Belka, in Syria, into Arabia by Amru Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain when they wanted it ³. It was the statue of a man made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the Koreish repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination ⁴. This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image of Abraham ⁵, found and destroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he took Mecca ⁶, and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some say, was Ismael with divining arrows in his hand also ⁷.

Asâf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed the one on mount Safâ, and the other on mount Merwa. They tell us Asâf was the son of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahâl, both of the tribe of Jorham, who committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by God converted into stone ⁸, and afterwards worshipped by the Koreish, and so much revered by them, that though this superstition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of divine justice ⁹.

I shall mention but one idol more of this nation, and that was a lump of dough worshipped by the tribe of Hanîfa; who used it with more respect than the papists do theirs, presuming not to eat it till they were compelled to it by famine ¹⁰.

¹ Al Jannab.² Abulfed. Shahrest, &c.³ Poc. Spec. 95.⁴ Safio'ddin.⁵ Poc. Spec. 97.⁶ Abulfeda.⁷ Ebn al Athir. al

Jannab. &c.

⁸ Poc. Spec. 98.⁹ Korân, cap. 2.¹⁰ Al Mos-

tatraf, al Jauhari.

Several of their idols, as Manah in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ismael first introduced; for as they multiplied, and the territory of Mecca grew too strait for them, great numbers were obliged to seek new abodes; and on such migrations it was usual for them to take with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land, and set them up in the places where they fixed; and these stones they at first only compassed out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the Caaba. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the Ismaelites forgetting the religion left them by their father so far, as to pay divine worship to any fine stone they met with¹.

Some of the pagan Arabs believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their dissolution to age. Others believed both; among whom were those who when they died had their camel tied by their sepulchre, and so left without meat or drink to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous². Some believed a metempsychosis, and that of the blood near the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named Hâmah, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre; though others say, this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries, "Oscûni, Oscûni," that is, "Give me to drink," meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. This was forbidden by Mohammed to be believed³.

I might here mention several superstitious rites and customs of the ancient Arabs, some of which were abolished, and others retained by Mohammed; but I apprehend it will be more convenient to take

¹ Al Mostatarf. al Jannâbi. Spec. p. 135.

² Abulfarag. p. 160.

³ V. Poc.

notice of them hereafter, occasionally, as the negative or positive precepts of the Korân, forbidding or allowing such practices, shall be considered.

Let us now turn our view from the idolatrous Arabs, to those among them, who had embraced more rational religions.

The Persians had, by their vicinity and frequent intercourse with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of Tamin¹, a long time before Mohammed, who was so far from being unacquainted with that religion, that he borrowed many of his own institutions from it, as will be observed in the progress of this work. I refer those who are desirous to have some notion of Magism to Dr. Hyde's curious account of it²; a succinct abridgment of which may be read with much pleasure, in another learned performance³.

The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia from the fearful destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes, those of Kenânah, al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah⁴ in particular, and in time became very powerful, and possessed of several towns and fortresses there. But the Jewish religion was not unknown to the Arabs, at least above a century before; Abu Carb Asad, taken notice of in the Korân⁵, who was king of Yaman, about 700 years before Mohammed, is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Hamyarites. Some of his successors also embraced the same religion, one of whom, Yusef, surnamed Dhu Nowâs⁶, was remarkable for his zeal, and terrible persecution of all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the "Lord of the

¹ Al Mostatraf.

² In his Hist. relig. vet. Persar.

³ Dr. Pri-

deaux's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. Part I. Book 4.

⁴ Al Mostatraf.

⁵ Chap. 50.

⁶ See before p. 14, and Baronii annal.

ad sec. 6.

pit." This persecution is also mentioned in the Korân¹.

Christianity had likewise made a very great progress among this nation, before Mohammed. Whether St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called², is uncertain; but the persecutions and disorders which happened in the eastern church soon after the beginning of the third century, obliged great numbers of Christians to seek for shelter in that country of liberty; who being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs³. The principal tribes that embraced Christianity, were Hamyar, Ghâssan, Rabiâ, Taghlab, Bahrâ, Tonûch⁴, part of the tribes of Tay and Kodâa, the inhabitants of Najrân, and the Arabs of Hira⁵. As to the two last, it may be observed, that those of Najrân became Christians in the time of Dhu Nowâs⁶; and very probably, if the story be true, were some of those who were converted on the following occasion, which happened about that time, or not long before. The Jews of Hamyar challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held *sub dio* for three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people; the disputants being Gregentius, bishop of Tephra (which I take to be Dhafâr) for the Christians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end the dispute, demanded that Jesus of Nazareth, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshippers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe in him; the Jews crying out with one voice, "Show us your Christ, alas, and we will become Christians." Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, Jesus Christ appeared in the air surrounded with rays of

¹ Chap. 85.
Mostatraf.
p. 63.

² See Galat. i. 17.
V. Poc. Spec. p. 137.

³ Abulfarag. p. 149.

⁴ Al
⁶ Al Jannab. apud Poc. Spec.

glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an inestimable diadem on his head, and spake these words over the heads of the assembly—"Behold I appear to you in your sight, I, who was crucified by your fathers." After which the cloud received him from their sight. The Christians cried out "Kyrie eleeson," that is, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized¹.

The Christians at Hira received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of Dhu Nowâs. Al Nooman, surnamed Abu Kabûs, king of Hira, who was slain a few months before Mohammed's birth, professed himself a Christian on the following occasion. This prince, in a drunken fit, ordered two of his intimate companions, who overcome with liquor had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done, and to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the *unfortunate*, and the other the *fortunate* day; making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument, but he that met him on the other day should be dismissed in safety with magnificent gifts. On one of those unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabians religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, for the

¹ V. Gregentii disput. cum Herbano Judæo.

support of his family, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to prepare himself to die. Those who were by represented to the king that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but in the middle of their discourse, the Arab appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for his so doing? to which he answered, that he had been taught to act in that manner, by the religion he professed; and al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied the Christian. Whereupon the king desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized, he and his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom¹. This prince, however, was not the first king of Hira who embraced Christianity; al Mondar, his grandfather, having also professed the same faith, and built large churches in his capital².

Since Christianity had made so great a progress in Arabia, we may consequently suppose they had bishops in several parts, for the more orderly governing of the churches. A bishop of Dhafâr has been already named, and we are told that Najrân was also a bishop's see³. The Jacobites (of which sect we have observed the Arabs generally were) had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafriân, or metropolitan of the east; one was called the bishop of the Arabs absolutely, whose seat was for the most part at Akula, which some authors

¹ Al Meidani and Ahmed Ebn Yusef, apud Poc. Spec. p. 72. feda ap. eund. p. 74.

³ Saïfoddin apud Poc. Spec. p. 137.

² Abul-

make the same with Cûfa¹, others a different town near Baghdâd². The other had the title of Bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaalab in Hira, or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, whose seat was in that city. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided over both these diocesses, of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch³.

These were the principal religions which obtained among the ancient Arabs; but as freedom of thought was the natural consequence of their political liberty and independence, some of them fell into other different opinions. The Koreish, in particular, were infected with Zendicism⁴, an error supposed to have very near affinity with that of the Sadducees among the Jews, and, perhaps, not greatly different from Deism; for there were several of that tribe, even before the time of Mohammed, who worshipped one God, and were free from idolatry⁵, and yet embraced none of the other religions of the country.

The Arabians before Mohammed were, as they yet are, divided into two sorts, those who dwell in cities and towns, and those who dwell in tents. The former lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades⁶, particularly merchandizing⁷, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob. The tribe of Koreish were much addicted to commerce, and Mohammed, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business; it being customary for the Arabians to exercise the same trade that their parents did⁸. The Arabs who dwelt in tents employed themselves in pasturage, and sometimes in pillaging of passengers; they lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels; they often changed

¹ Abulfarag. in Chron. Syriac, MS.

² Abulfeda in descr. Iracæ.

³ Vid. Assemani Bibl. Orient. T. 2. in Dissert. de Monophysitis; and p. 459.

⁴ Al Mostatraf, apud Poc. Spec. p. 136. ⁵ V. Reland. de Relig. Moham. p. 270, and Millium de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 311.

⁶ These seem to be the same whom Mr. La Roque calls Moors. Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 110. ⁷ See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 6. ⁸ Strabo, l. 16, p. 1129.

their habitations, as the convenience of water and of pasture for their cattle invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of other¹. They generally wintered in Iràk, and the confines of Syria. This way of life is what the greater part of Ismael's posterity have used, as more agreeable to the temper and way of life of their father; and is so well described by a late author², that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his account of them.

The Arabic language is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in the world, and arose soon after, if not at, the confusion of Babel. There were several dialects of it, very different from each other: the most remarkable were that spoken by the tribe of Hamyar and the other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish. The Hamyaritic seems to have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac than the dialect of any other tribe; for the Arabs acknowledge their father Yarab to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the Syriac (which was his mother tongue, and is almost generally acknowledged by the Asiatics to be the most ancient) to the Arabic. The dialect of the Koreish is usually termed the pure Arabic, or, as the Korân, which is written in this dialect, calls it, the perspicuous and clear Arabic; perhaps, says Dr. Pocock, because Ismael, their father, brought the Arabic he had learned of the Jorhamites nearer to the original Hebrew. But the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the Koreish is rather to be attributed to their having the custody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca, the centre of Arabia; as well more remote from intercourse with foreigners, who might corrupt their language, as frequented by the Arabs from the country all around, not only on a religious account, but also for the composing of their differences, from

¹ Strabo, l. 16, p. 1084.
109, &c.

² La Roque, *Voyage dans la Palestine*, p.

whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged more pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabians are full of the commendations of their language, and not altogether without reason; for it claims the preference of most others in many respects, as being very harmonious and expressive, and withal so copious, that they say no man, without inspiration, can be perfect master of it in its utmost extent; and yet they tell us, at the same time, that the greatest part of it has been lost; which will not be thought strange if we consider how late the art of writing was practised among them. For though it was known to Job¹, their countryman, and also to the Hamyarites (who used a perplexed character called al Mosnad, wherein the letters were not distinctly separate, and which was neither publicly taught, nor suffered to be used without permission first obtained) many centuries before Mohammed, as appears from some ancient monuments said to be remaining in their character; yet the other Arabs, and those of Mecca in particular, were, for many ages, perfectly ignorant of it, unless such of them as were Jews or Christians²: Morâmer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irâk, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the Arabic character, which Bashar the Kendian is said to have learned from those of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca but a little while before the institution of Mohammedism. These letters of Morâmer were different from the Hamyaritic; and though they were very rude, being either the same with or very much like the Cufic³, which character is still found in inscriptions, and some ancient books, yet they were those which the Arabs used for many years, the Korân

¹ Job xix. 23, 24.

² See Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 29, 30.

³ A specimen of the Cufic character may be seen in Sir J. Chardin's travels, vol. III. p. 119.

itself being at first written therein ; for the beautiful character they now use was first formed from the Cufic by Ebn Moklah, Wazîr (or Visir) to the Khalîfs al Moktader, al Kâher, and al Râdi, who lived about 300 years after Mohammed, and was brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowâb¹, who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account ; yet it is said, the person who completed it, and reduced it to its present form, was Yakût al Mostâsemi, secretary to al Mostâsem, the last of the Khalîfs of the family of Abbâs, for which reason he was surnamed al Khattât, or the scribe.

The accomplishments the Arabs valued themselves chiefly on were, 1. Eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue ; 2. Expertness in the use of arms and horsemanship ; and, 3. Hospitality². The first they exercised themselves in by composing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts, metrical, or prosaic, the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able, in an assembly, to persuade the people to a great enterprise, or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of Khâteb, or orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers. They pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators ; their sentences being like loose gems, without connexion, so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings ; and so persuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of

¹ Ebn Khalicân. Yet others attribute the honour of the invention of this character to Ebn Moklah's brother, Abdallah al Hasan ; and the perfecting of it to Ebn Amîd al Kâteb, after it had been reduced to near the present form by Abd'alhamîd. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 590. 108, and 194.

² Poc. Orat. ante Carmen Tograi, p. 10.

speaking in public except themselves and the Persians, which last were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the Arabians¹. Poetry was in so great esteem among them, that it was a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance on any extraordinary occurrence, and even in their common discourse they made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. In their poems were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language; for which reasons an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, so that as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion, and themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing to the sound of timbrels the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity²; for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge and instructions, moral and oeconomic, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences³. No wonder then that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they yet were so far from making cheap, that they never did it but on one of these three occasions, which were reckoned great points of felicity; viz. on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep up an emulation among their poets, the tribes had, once a year, a general assembly at Ocadh⁴, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sun-

¹ Poc. Spec. 161.² Ebn Rashik, apud Poc. Spec. 160.³ Poc.

Orat. præfix. Carm. Togiai, ubi supra.

⁴ Idem, Spec. p. 159.

day¹. This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is said, took its name². The poems that were judged to excel were laid up in their king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called al Moallakât, rather than from their being hung up on the Caaba, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk, and in letters of gold; for which reason they had also the name of al Modhahabât, or the golden verses³.

The fair and assembly at Ocadh were suppressed by Mohammed, in whose time, and for some years after, poetry seems to have been in some degree neglected by the Arabs, who were then employed in their conquests; which being completed, and themselves at peace, not only this study was revived⁴, but almost all sorts of learning were encouraged and greatly improved by them. This interruption, however, occasioned the loss of most of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory, the use of writing being rare among them in their time of ignorance⁵. Though the Arabs were so early acquainted with poetry, they did not at first use to write poems of a just length, but only expressed themselves in verse occasionally; nor was their prosody digested into rules till some time after Mohammed⁶; for this was done, as it is said, by al Khalîl Ahmed al Farâhîdî, who lived in the reign of the Khalîf Harûn al Rashîd⁷.

¹ Geogr. Nub. p. 51.

² Poc. Spec. 159.

³ Ibid. and p. 381. Et

in calce Notar. in Carmen Tograi, p. 233.

⁴ Jallalo'ddin al Soyûti, apud, Poc. Spec. p. 159, &c.

⁵ Ib. 160.

⁶ Ib. 161. Al Safadi confirms

this by a story of a grammarian, named Abu Jaafar, who sitting by the Mikyas or, Nilometer in Egypt, in a year when the Nile did not rise to its usual height, so that a famine was apprehended, and dividing a piece of poetry into its parts or feet, to examine them by the rules of art, some who passed by, not understanding him, imagined he was uttering a charm to hinder the rise of the river, and pushed him into the water, where he lost his life.

⁷ V. Clericum de Prosod. Arab. p. 2.

The exercise of arms and horsemanship they were in a manner obliged to practise and encourage by reason of the independence of their tribes, whose frequent jarrings made wars almost continual; and they chiefly ended their disputes in field battles; it being an usual saying among them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, that their turbands should be to them instead of diadems, their tents instead of walls and houses, their swords instead of intrenchments, and their poems instead of written laws¹.

Hospitality was so habitual to them, and so much esteemed, that the examples of this kind among them exceed whatever can be produced from other nations. Hatem of the tribe of Tay², and Hasn of that of Fezârah³, were particularly famous on this account; and the contrary vice was so much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Waset, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny⁴.

Nor were the Arabs less propense to liberality after the coming of Mohammed than their ancestors had been. I could produce many remarkable instances of this commendable quality among them⁵, but shall content myself with the following. Three men were disputing in the court of the Caaba which was the most liberal person among the Arabs. One gave the preference to Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, the uncle of Mohammed; another to Kais Ebn Saad Ebn Obâdah; and the third gave it to Arâbah of the tribe of Aws. After much debate, one that was present, to end the dispute, proposed that each of them should go to his friend and ask his assistance, that they might see what every one gave, and form

¹ Pocock, in *calce Notar. ad Carmen Tograi.*

Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c.

² V. *Gentii Notæ* in

Gulistan, apud Poc. in *Not. ad Carmen Tograi*, p. 107.

³ Poc. *Spec.* p. 48.

⁴ Ebn al Ho-

⁵ Several may be found in D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* particularly in the articles of Hasan the son of Ali, Maan, Fâdhel, and Ebn Yahya.

a judgment accordingly. This was agreed to; and Abdallah's friend going to him, found him with his foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accosted him: Son of the uncle of the apostle of God, I am travelling and in necessity. Upon which Abdallah alighted, and bid him take the camel with all that was upon her, but desired him not to part with a sword which happened to be fixed to the saddle, because it had belonged to Ali, the son of Abutâleb. So he took the camel, and found on her some vests of silk, and four thousand pieces of gold; but the thing of greatest value was the sword. The second went to Kais Ebn Saad, whose servant told him that his master was asleep, and desired to know his business. The friend answered that he came to ask Kais's assistance, being in want on the road. Whereupon the servant said, that he had rather supply his necessity than wake his master, and gave him a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold, assuring him that it was all the money then in the house. He also directed him to go to those who had the charge of the camels, with a certain token, and take a camel, and a slave, and return home with them. When Kais awoke, and his servant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and asked him why he did not call him, for, says he, I would have given him more. The third man went to Arâbah, and met him coming out of his house, in order to go to prayers, and leaning on two slaves, because his eye-sight failed him. The friend no sooner made known his case, but Arâbah let go the slaves, and clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune in having no money, but desired him to take the two slaves; which the man refused to do, till Arâbah protested that if he would not accept of them, he gave them their liberty; and, leaving the slaves, groped his way along by the wall. On the return of the adventurers, judgment was

unanimously, and with great justice, given by all who were present, that Arâbah was the most generous of the three.

Nor were these the only good qualities of the Arabs; they are commended by the ancients for being most exact to their words¹, and respectful to their kindred². And they have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit; especially those of the desert³.

As the Arabs had their excellencies, so have they, like other nations, their defects and vices. Their own writers acknowledge that they have a natural disposition to war, bloodshed, cruelty, and rapine; being so much addicted to bear malice, that they scarce ever forget an old grudge; which vindictive temper some physicians say is occasioned by their frequent feeding on camels' flesh (the ordinary diet of the Arabs of the desert, who are therefore observed to be most inclined to these vices), that creature being most malicious and tenacious of anger⁴; which account suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats.

The frequent robberies committed by these people on merchants and travellers have rendered the name of an Arab almost infamous in Europe; this they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves by alleging the hard usage of their father Ismael, who being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. And on this account they think they may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on every body else; always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and

¹ Herodot. l. 3, c. 8.
Bibl. Orient. p. 121.

² Strabo, l. 16, p. 1129.
³ V. Poc. Spec. p. 87.

⁴ V. D'Herbel.
Bochart, Hierozoic. l. 2, c. 1.

those they plunder. And in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and instead of, I robbed a man of such or such a thing, to say, I gained it¹. We must not, however, imagine that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be stolen².

The sciences the Arabians chiefly cultivated before Mohammedism were three; that of their genealogies and history, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams³. They used to value themselves excessively on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that occasion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in settling their descents. What knowledge they had of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical rules⁴. The Arabians, as the Indians also did, chiefly applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature; and hence, as has been said, arose the difference of the idolatry of the Greeks and Chaldeans, who chiefly worshipped the planets, and that of the Indians, who worshipped the fixed stars. The stars or asterisms they most usually foretold the weather by were those they call *Anwâ*, or the houses of the moon. These are twenty-eight in number, and divide the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night⁵; as some of them set

¹ Voyage dans la Palest. p. 220, &c.
Shahrestani, apud Pocock Orat. ubi sup. p. 9, and Spec. 164.

² Ibid. p. 213, &c.

³ Al

farag. p. 161.

⁴ Abul-
⁵ V. Hyde, in not. ad Tabulas stellar. fixar. Ulugh Beigh,

p. 5.

in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night, and from their rising and setting, the Arabs, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air ; and at length, as has been said, came to ascribe divine power to them, saying, that their rain was from such or such a star ; which expression Mohammed condemned, and absolutely forbade them to use it in the old sense, unless they meant no more by it than that God had so ordered the seasons, that when the moon was in such or such a mansion or house, or at the rising or setting of such and such a star, it should rain or be windy, hot or cold ¹.

The old Arabians, therefore, seem to have made no farther progress in astronomy, which science they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe the influence of the stars on the weather, and to give them names ; and this it was obvious for them to do by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic ; for though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more ancient, particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks ².

Thus have I given the most succinct account I have been able, of the state of the ancient Arabians before Mohammed, or, to use their expression, in the time of ignorance. I shall now proceed briefly

¹ V. Poc. Spec. p. 163, &c.

² V. Hyde ubi sup. p. ii.

to consider the state of religion in the east, and of the two great empires which divided that part of the world between them, at the time of Mohammed's setting up for a prophet, and what were the conducive circumstances and accidents that favoured his success.

SECTION II.

Of the state of Christianity, particularly of the eastern churches, and of Judaism, at the time of Mohammed's appearance; and of the methods taken by him for the establishing his religion, and the circumstances which concurred thereto.

IF we look into the ecclesiastical historians even from the third century, we shall find the Christian world to have then had a very different aspect from what some authors have represented; and so far from being endued with active grace, zeal, and devotion, and established within itself with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profession of the faith¹, that, on the contrary, what by the ambition of the clergy, and what by drawing the abstrusest niceties into controversy, and dividing and subdividing about them into endless schisms and contentions, they had so destroyed that peace, love, and charity from among them, which the Gospel was given to promote; and instead thereof continually provoked each other to that malice, rancour, and every evil work; that they had lost the whole substance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it; and in a manner quite drove Christianity out of the world by those very controversies in which they disputed with each other about it². In these dark ages it was that most of those superstitions and corruptions we now justly abhor in the church of Rome were not only

¹ Ricaut's state of the Ottoman empire, p. 187.
his life of Mahomet.

² Prideaux's pref. to

broached, but established; which gave great advantages to the propagation of Mohammedism. The worship of saints and images, in particular, was then arrived at such a scandalous pitch, that it even surpassed whatever is now practised among the Romanists¹.

After the Nicene council, the eastern church was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces by the disputes of the Arians, Sabellians, Nestorians, and Eutychians: the heresies of the two last of which have been shown to have consisted more in the words and form of expression than in the doctrines themselves²; and were rather the pretences than real motives of those frequent councils, to and from which the contentious prelates were continually riding post, that they might bring every thing to their own will and pleasure³. And to support themselves by dependants and bribery, the clergy in any credit at court undertook the protection of some officer in the army, under the colour of which justice was publicly sold, and all corruption encouraged.

In the western church, Damasus and Ursicinus carried their contests at Rome for the episcopal seat so high that they came to open violence and murder, which Viventius the governor not being able to suppress, he retired into the country, and left them to themselves, till Damasus prevailed. It is said that on this occasion, in the church of Sicininus, there were no less than a hundred and thirty-seven found killed in one day. And no wonder they were so fond of these seats, when they became by that means enriched by the presents of matrons, and went abroad in their chariots and sedans in great state, feasting sumptuously even beyond the luxury of princes, quite contrary to the way of living of the country pre-

¹ V. La vie de Mahomed, par Boulainvilliers, p. 219, &c. ² V. Simon, Hist. Crit. de la creance, &c. des nations du Levant. ³ Ammian. Marcellin. l. 21. V. etiam Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 8, c. 1. Sozom. l. 1, c. 14, &c. Hilar. and Sulpic. Sever. in Hist. Sacr. p. 112, &c.

lates,* who alone seemed to have some temperance and modesty left¹.

These dissensions were greatly owing to the emperors, and particularly to Constantius, who, confounding the pure and simple Christian religion with anile superstitions, and perplexing it with intricate questions, instead of reconciling different opinions, excited many disputes, which he fomented as they proceeded with infinite altercations². This grew worse in the time of Justinian, who not to be behind the bishops of the fifth and sixth centuries in zeal, thought it no crime to condemn to death a man of a different persuasion from his own³.

This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy was necessarily followed by a general depravity of the people⁴; those of all conditions making it their sole business to get money by any means, and then to squander it away, when they had got it, in luxury and debauchery⁵.

But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, Arabia was of old famous for heresies⁶; which might be in some measure attributed to the liberty and independency of the tribes. Some of the Christians of that nation believed the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day⁷: these Origen is said to have convinced⁸. Among the Arabs it was that the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazaræans⁹, and also that of the Collyridians, were broached, or at least propagated; the latter introduced the Virgin Mary for God, or worshipped her as such, offering her a sort of twisted cake called *collyris*, whence the sect had its name¹⁰.

¹ Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 27. Anecd. p. 60.

² Idem, l. 21.

³ Procop. in

even when they were under the terror of the Saracens, in Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. V. i. p. 239.

⁴ See an instance of the wickedness of the Christian army

⁵ V. Boulainvill. Vie de Mahom. ubi sup.

⁶ V. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 1, c. 16, 17.

⁷ Sulpic. Sever. ubi supra.

⁸ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 6, c. 23.

⁹ Idem, ibid. c. 37.

¹⁰ Epiphan. de Hæresi, l. 1. Hæres. 40.

¹¹ Idem, ibid. l. 3. Hæres. 75. 79.

This notion of the divinity of the Virgin Mary was also believed by some at the council of Nice, who said there were two gods besides the Father, viz. Christ and the Virgin Mary, and were thence named Mariamites¹. Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity, and deified; which goes but little beyond the Popish superstition in calling her the complement of the Trinity, as if it were imperfect without her. This foolish imagination is justly condemned in the Korân² as idolatrous, and gave a handle to Mohammed to attack the Trinity itself.

Other sects there were of many denominations within the borders of Arabia, which took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts; several of whose notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion, as may be observed hereafter.

Though the Jews were an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, yet in Arabia, whither many of them fled from the destruction of Jerusalem, they grew very powerful, several tribes and princes embracing their religion; which made Mohammed at first show great regard to them, adopting many of their opinions, doctrines, and customs; thereby to draw them, if possible, into his interest. But that people, agreeably to their wonted obstinacy, were so far from being his proselytes, that they were some of the bitterest enemies he had, waging continual war with him, so that their reduction cost him infinite trouble and danger, and at last his life. This aversion of theirs created at length as great a one in him to them, so that he used them, for the latter part of his life, much worse than he did the Christians, and frequently exclaims against them in his Korân; his followers to this day observe the same difference between them and the Christians, treating the former as the most abject and contemptible people on earth.

It has been observed by a great politician³, that

¹ Elmacin. Eutyck.

² Cap. 5.

³ Machiavelli, Princ. c. 6, p. 19.

it is impossible a person should make himself a prince and found a state without opportunities. If the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of Mohammed on that side, the weakness of the Roman and Persian monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes in any attempt on those once formidable empires, either of which, had they been in their full vigour, must have crushed Mohammedism in its birth ; whereas nothing nourished it more than the success the Arabians met with in their enterprises against those powers, which success they failed not to attribute to their new religion and the divine assistance thereof.

The Roman empire declined apace after Constantine, whose successors were for the generality remarkable for their ill qualities, especially cowardice and cruelty. By Mohammed's time, the western half of the empire was overrun by the Goths ; and the eastern so reduced by the Huns on the one side, and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The emperor Maurice paid tribute to the Khagân or king of the Huns ; and after Phocas had murdered his master, such lamentable havoc there was among the soldiers, that when Heraclius came, not above seven years after, to muster the army, there were only two soldiers left alive, of all those who had borne arms when Phocas first usurped the empire. And though Heraclius was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the Persians, so as to drive them not only out of his own dominions, but even out of part of their own ; yet still the very vitals of the empire seemed to be mortally wounded ; that there could no time have happened more fatal to the empire, or more favourable to the enterprises of the Arabs ; who seem to have been raised up on purpose by God, to be a scourge

to the Christian church, for not living answerably to that most holy religion which they had received¹.

The general luxury and degeneracy of manners into which the Grecians were sunk, also contributed not a little to the enervating their forces, which were still further drained by those two great destroyers, monachism and persecution.

The Persians had also been in a declining condition for some time before Mohammed, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and dissensions; great part of which arose from the devilish doctrines of Manes and Mazdak. The opinions of the former are tolerably well known: the latter lived in the reign of Khosru Kobâd, and pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were brothers and descended from the same common parents. This he imagined would put an end to all feuds and quarrels among men, which generally arose on account of one of the two. Kobâd himself embraced the opinions of this impostor, to whom he gave leave, according to his new doctrine, to lie with the queen his wife; which permission Anushirwân, his son, with much difficulty prevailed on Mazdak not to make use of. These sects had certainly been the immediate ruin of the Persian empire, had not Anushirwân, as soon as he succeeded his father, put Mazdak to death with all his followers, and the Manicheans also, restoring the ancient Magian religion².

In the reign of this prince, deservedly surnamed the just, Mohammed was born. He was the last king of Persia who deserved the throne, which after him was almost perpetually contended for, till subverted by the Arabs. His son Hormûz lost the love of his subjects by his excessive cruelty: having had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, he was

¹ Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 19, &c.

² V. *Poc. Spec.* p. 70.

obliged to resign the crown to his son Khosrû Parvîz, who at the instigation of Bahrâm Chubîn had rebelled against him, and was afterwards strangled. Parvîz was soon obliged to quit the throne to Bahrâm; but obtaining succours of the Greek emperor Maurice, he recovered the crown: yet towards the latter end of a long reign he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held private correspondence with the Arabs; and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son Shirûyeh'. After Parvîz no less than six princes possessed the throne in less than six years. These domestic broils effectually brought ruin upon the Persians; for though they did, rather by the weakness of the Greeks than their own force, ravage Syria and sack Jerusalem and Damascus under Khosrû Parvîz; and, while the Arabs were divided and independent, had some power in the province of Yaman, where they set up the four last kings before Mohammed; yet when attacked by the Greeks under Heraclius, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions, and no sooner were the Arabs united by Mohammedism, than they beat them in every battle, and in a few years totally subdued them.

As these empires were weak and declining, so Arabia, at Mohammed's setting up, was strong and flourishing; having been peopled at the expense of the Grecian empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek refuge in a free country, as Arabia then was, where they who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conscience at home, found a secure retreat. The Arabians were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians, and inured to hardships of all sorts; living in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting

' V. Teixeira, *Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia*, p. 195, &c.

on the ground. Their political government was also such as favoured the designs of Mohammed; for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the Arabs been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur.

This posture of public affairs in the eastern world, both as to its religious and political state, it is more than probable Mohammed was well acquainted with; he having had sufficient opportunities of informing himself in those particulars, in his travels as a merchant in his younger years: and though it is not to be supposed his views at first were so extensive as afterwards, when they were enlarged by his good fortune, yet he might reasonably promise himself success in his first attempts from thence. As he was a man of extraordinary parts and address, he knew how to make the best of every incident, and turn what might seem dangerous to another to his own advantage.

Mohammed came into the world under some disadvantages, which he soon surmounted. His father Abd'allah was a younger son¹ of Abd'almotaleb, and dying very young and in his father's lifetime, left his widow and infant son in very mean circumstances; his whole substance consisting but of five camels and one Ethiopian she-slave². Abd'almotaleb was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild Mohammed, which he not only did during his life, but at his death enjoined his eldest son Abu Tåleb, who was brother to Abd'allah by the same

¹ He was not his eldest son, as Dr. Prideaux tells us; whose reflections built on that foundation must necessarily fail (see his life of Mahomet, p. 9.); nor yet his youngest son, as M. de Boulainvilliers (*Vie de Mahommed*, p. 182, &c.) supposes; for Hamza and al Abbās were both younger than Abd'allah.

² Abulfeda, *Vit. Moham.* p. 2.

mother, to provide for him for the future; which he very affectionately did, and instructed him in the business of a merchant, which he followed; and to that end he took him with him into Syria when he was but thirteen, and afterward recommended him to Khadijah, a noble and rich widow, for her factor, in whose service he behaved himself so well, that by making him her husband she soon raised him to an equality with the richest in Mecca.

After he began by this advantageous match to live at his ease it was that he formed the scheme of establishing a new religion, or, as he expressed it, of replanting the only true and ancient one, professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the prophets¹, by destroying the gross idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter Jews and Christians had, as he thought, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which consisted chiefly in the worship of one only God.

Whether this was the effect of enthusiasm, or only a design to raise himself to the supreme government of his country, I will not pretend to determine. The latter is the general opinion of Christian writers, who agree that ambition and the desire of satisfying his sensuality were the motives of his undertaking. It may be so; yet his first views perhaps were not so interested. His original design of bringing the pagan Arabs to the knowledge of the true God was certainly noble, and highly to be commended; for I cannot possibly subscribe to the assertion of a late learned writer², that he made that nation exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether as bad. Mohammed was no doubt fully satisfied in his conscience of the truth of his grand point, the unity of God, which was what he chiefly attended to; all his

¹ See Korân, c. 2.

² Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 70.

other doctrines and institutions being rather accidental and unavoidable, than premeditated and designed.

Since then Mohammed was certainly himself persuaded of his grand article of faith, which in his opinion was violated by all the rest of the world; not only by the idolaters, but by the Christians, as well those who rightly worshipped Jesus as God, as those who superstitiously adored the Virgin Mary, saints, and images; and also by the Jews, who are accused in the Korân of taking Ezra for the Son of God¹; it is easy to conceive that he might think it a meritorious work to rescue the world from such ignorance and superstition; and by degrees, with the help of a warm imagination, which an Arab seldom wants², to suppose himself destined by Providence for the effecting that great reformation. And this fancy of his might take still deeper root in his mind, during the solitude he thereupon affected, usually retiring for a month in the year to a cave in Mount Hara near Mecca. One thing which may be probably urged against the enthusiasm of this prophet of the Arabs, is the wise conduct and great prudence he all along showed in pursuing his design, which seem inconsistent with the wild notions of a hot-brained religionist. But though all enthusiasts or madmen do not behave with the same gravity and circumspection that he did, yet he will not be the first instance, by several, of a person who has been out of the way only *quoad hoc*, and in all other respects acted with the greatest decency and precaution.

The terrible destruction of the eastern churches, once so glorious and flourishing, by the sudden spreading of Mohammedism, and the great successes of its professors against the Christians, necessarily inspire a horror of that religion in those to whom it

¹ Korân, c. 9.

² See Casaub. of Enthusiasm, p. 148.

has been so fatal ; and no wonder if they endeavour to set the character of its founder, and its doctrines, in the most infamous light. But the damage done by Mohammed to Christianity seems to have been rather owing to his ignorance than malice ; for his great misfortune was, his not having a competent knowledge of the real and pure doctrines of the Christian religion, which was in his time so abominably corrupted, that it is not surprising if he went too far, and resolved to abolish what he might think incapable of reformation.

It is scarce to be doubted but that Mohammed had a violent desire of being reckoned an extraordinary person, which he could attain to by no means more effectually than by pretending to be a messenger sent from God, to inform mankind of his will. This might be at first his utmost ambition, and had his fellow citizens treated him less injuriously, and not obliged him by their persecutions to seek refuge elsewhere, and to take up arms against them in his own defence, he had perhaps continued a private person, and contented himself with the veneration and respect due to his prophetic office ; but being once got at the head of a little army, and encouraged by success, it is no wonder if he raised his thoughts to attempt what had never before entered into his imagination.

That Mohammed was, as the Arabs are by complexion¹, a great lover of women, we are assured by his own confession ; and he is constantly upbraided with it by the controversial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do as a demonstrative argument of his sensuality, which they think sufficiently proves him to have been a wicked man, and consequently an impostor. But it must be considered, that polygamy, though it be forbidden by the Christian religion, was in Mohammed's

¹ Ammian. Marcell. l. 14, c. 4.

time frequently practised in Arabia and other parts of the East, and was not counted an immorality, nor was a man the worse esteemed on that account; for which reason Mohammed permitted the plurality of wives, with certain limitations; among his own followers, who argue for the lawfulness of it from several reasons, and particularly from the examples of persons allowed on all hands to have been good men; some of whom have been honoured with the divine correspondence. The several laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to Mohammed in his Korân, were almost all taken by him from the Jewish decisions, as will appear hereafter; and therefore he might think those institutions the more just and reasonable, as he found them practised or approved by the professors of a religion which was confessedly of divine original.

But whatever were his motives, Mohammed had certainly the personal qualifications which were necessary to accomplish his undertaking. The Mohammedan authors are excessive in their commendations of him, and speak much of his religious and moral virtues; as his piety, veracity, justice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abstinence. His charity in particular, they say, was so conspicuous, that he had seldom any money in his house, keeping no more for his own use than was just sufficient to maintain his family; and he frequently spared even some part of his own provisions to supply the necessities of the poor; so that before the year's end he had generally little or nothing left¹: "God," says al Bokhâri, "offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, but he would not accept them." Though the eulogies of these writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, yet thus much, I think, may be inferred from thence, that for an Arab who had been educated in paganism, and had but a very im-

¹ V. Abu'lfeda Vit. Moham. p. 144, &c.

perfect knowledge of his duty, he was a man of at least tolerable morals, and not such a monster of wickedness as he is usually represented. And, indeed, it is scarce possible to conceive that a wretch of so profligate a character should ever have succeeded in an enterprise of this nature; a little hypocrisy and saving of appearances, at least, must have been absolutely necessary; and the sincerity of his intentions is what I pretend not to inquire into.

He had indisputably a very piercing and sagacious wit, and was thoroughly versed in all the arts of insinuation¹. The eastern historians describe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment, and a happy memory; and these natural parts were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the observations he had made in his travels. They say he was a person of few words, of an equal, cheerful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors². To all which were joined a comely, agreeable person, and a polite address; accomplishments of no small service in preventing those in his favour whom he attempted to persuade.

As to acquired learning, it is confessed he had none at all; having had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature; esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use and not by books, and contenting themselves with improving their private experience by committing to memory such passages of their poets as they judged might be of use to them in life. This defect was so far from being prejudicial or putting a stop to his design, that he made the greatest use of it; insisting that the

¹ V. Prid. *Life of Mahomet*, p. 103.

² V. Abulfed. *ubi sup.*

writings which he produced as revelations from God, could not possibly be a forgery of his own; because it was not conceivable that a person who could neither write nor read should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style; and thereby obviating an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight¹. And for this reason his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him (as he is indeed called in the Korân itself²) the illiterate prophet.

The scheme of religion which Mohammed framed, and the design and artful contrivance of those written revelations (as he pretended them to be) which compose his Korân, shall be the subject of the following sections: I shall, therefore, in the remainder of this relate, as briefly as possible, the steps he took towards the effecting of his enterprise, and the accidents which concurred to his success therein.

Before he made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was necessary for him to begin by the conversion of his own household. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done several times before, to the above-mentioned cave in mount Hara, he there opened the secret of his mission to his wife Khadijah; and acquainted her that the angel Gabriel had just before appeared to him, and told him that he was appointed the apostle of God: he also repeated to her a passage³ which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministry of the angel, with those other circumstances of his first appearance which are related by the Mohammedan writers. Khadijah received the news with great joy⁴; swearing by him in whose hands her soul was, that she trusted he would be the prophet of his nation: and immediately

¹ See Korân, chap. 29. Prid. Life of Mah. p. 28, &c.

² Chap. 7.

³ This passage is generally agreed to be the first five verses of the 96th chapter.
⁴ I do not remember to have read in any eastern author, that Khadijah ever rejected her husband's pretences as delusions, or suspected him of any imposture. Yet see Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 11, &c.

communicated what she had heard to her cousin Warakah Ebn Nawfal, who, being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures¹; and he as readily came into her opinion, assuring her that the same angel who had formerly appeared unto Moses was now sent to Mohammed². This first overture the prophet made in the month of Ramadân, in the fortieth year of his age, which is therefore usually called the year of his mission.

Encouraged by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and try for some time what he could do by private persuasion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his own roof, viz. his wife Khadîjah, his servant Zeid Ebn Hâretha (to whom he gave his freedom³ on that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers), and his cousin and pupil Ali, the son of Abu Tâleb, though then very young: but this last, making no account of the other two, used to style himself the first of believers. The next person Mohammed applied to was Abdallah Ebn Abi Kohâfa, surnamed Abu Becr, a man of great authority among the Koreish, and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him, as it soon appeared; for Abu Becr being gained over, prevailed also on Othmân Ebn Affân, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, al Zobeir Ebn al Awâm, and Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, all principal men in Mecca, to follow his example. These men were the six chief companions, who, with a few more, were converted in the space of three years; at the end of which Mohammed having, as he hoped, a sufficient interest to support him, made his mission no longer a secret, but gave out that God had commanded him to ad-

¹ V. Poc. Spec. p. 157. ² V. Abulfed. Vit. Moham. p. 16. Where the learned translator has mistaken the meaning of this passage. ³ For he was his purchased slave, as Abulfeda expressly tells us; and not his cousin german, as Mr. de Boulainvilliers asserts (Vic de Mah. p. 273).

monish his near relations¹, and in order to do it with more convenience and prospect of success, he directed Ali to prepare an entertainment, and invite the sons and descendants of Abd'almotaleb, intending then to open his mind to them; this was done, and about forty of them came, but Abu Laheb, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Mohammed had an opportunity of speaking, obliged him to give them a second invitation the next day; and when they were come, he made them the following speech: "I know no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred a more excellent thing than I now do you; I offer you happiness both in this life, and in that which is to come: God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him; who, therefore, among you will be assisting to me herein, and become my brother, and my vicegerent?" All of them hesitating, and declining the matter, Ali at length rose up, and declared that he would be his assistant; and vehemently threatened those who should oppose him. Mohammed upon this embraced Ali with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who were present to hearken to and obey him as his deputy; at which the company broke out into great laughter, telling Abu Taleb that he must now pay obedience to his son.

This repulse, however, was so far from discouraging Mohammed, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with some patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness of themselves and their fathers; which so highly provoked them, that they declared themselves his enemies, and would soon have procured his ruin, had he not been protected by Abu Taleb. The chief of the Koreish warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew, making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting; which proving ineffectual, they at length threatened him with an open rupture if he did not

¹ Korân, c. 74. See the notes thereon.

prevail on Mohammed to desist. At this Abu Taleb was so far moved that he earnestly dissuaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any farther, representing the great danger he and his friends must otherwise run. But Mohammed was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly, that if they set the sun against him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprise: and Abu Taleb, seeing him so firmly resolved to proceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies ¹.

The Koreish finding they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force and ill treatment; using Mohammed's followers so very injuriously that it was not safe for them to continue at Mecca any longer; whereupon Mohammed gave leave to such of them as had not friends to protect them to seek for refuge elsewhere. And accordingly in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, sixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into Ethiopia; and among them Othmân Ebn Affân and his wife Rakîah, Mohammed's daughter. This was the first flight; but afterwards several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children². These refugees were kindly received by the Najâshi³, or king of Ethiopia, who refused to deliver them up to those whom the Koreish sent to demand them, and as the Arab writers unanimously attest, even professed the Mohammedan religion.

In the sixth year of his mission⁴ Mohammed had the pleasure of seeing his party strengthened by the conversion of his uncle Hamza, a man of great valour and merit, and of Omar Ebn al Khattâb, a person highly esteemed, and once a violent opposer of the prophet. As persecution generally advances rather

¹ Abulfeda ubi supra. ² Idem, Ebn Shohnah. ³ Dr. Prideaux seems to take this word for a proper name, but it is only the title the Arabs give to every king of this country. See his *Life of Mahomet*, p. 55. ⁴ Ebn Shohnah.

than obstructs the spreading of a religion, Islamism made so great a progress among the Arab tribes, that the Koreish, to suppress it effectually, if possible, in the seventh year of Mohammed's mission¹, made a solemn league or covenant against the Hashemites and the family of Al Motaleb, engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them; and to give it the greater sanction, reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the Caaba. Upon this the tribe became divided into two factions; and the family of Hashem all repaired to Abu Taleb, as their head, except only Abd'al Uzza, surnamed Abu Laheb, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party, whose chief was Abu Sofîân Ebn Harb, of the family of Ommeya.

The families continued thus at variance for three years; but in the tenth year of his mission, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Taleb, that God had manifestly showed his disapprobation of the league which the Koreish had made against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the instrument except the name of God. Of this accident Mohammed had probably some private notice, for Abu Taleb went immediately to the Koreish and acquainted them with it; offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them; but in case it were true, he insisted that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league they had made against the Hashemites. To this they acquiesced, and, going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment found it to be as Abu Taleb had said; and the league was thereupon declared void.

In the same year Abu Taleb died, at the age of above fourscore; and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, though others say, that when he was at the point of death he embraced Mohammedism, and produce some passages out of his poetical

¹ Al Jannâbi.

compositions to confirm their assertion. About a month, or, as some write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, Mohammed had the additional mortification to lose his wife Khadîjah, who had so generously made his fortune. For which reason this year is called the year of mourning¹.

On the death of these two persons, the Koreish began to be more troublesome than ever to their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends; insomuch that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon Tâyef, about sixty miles east from Mecca, for the place of his retreat. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by his servant Zeid, and applied himself to two of the chief of the tribe of Thakîf, who were the inhabitants of that place, but they received him very coldly. However, he stayed there a month; and some of the more considerate and better sort of men treated him with a little respect: but the slaves and inferior people at length rose against him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to Mecca, where he put himself under the protection of al Mo-tâam Ebn Adi².

This repulse greatly discouraged his followers: however, Mohammed was not wanting to himself, but boldly continued to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage, and gained several proselytes, and among them six of the inhabitants of Yathreb of the Jewish Tribe of Khazraj, who, on their return home, failed not to speak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace the same.

In the twelfth year of his mission it was that Mohammed gave out that he had made his night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and thence to heaven³, so much spoken of by all that write of him.

¹ Abulfed. p. 28. Ebn Shohnah. on the 17th chap. of the Korân.

² Ebn Shohnah.

³ See the notes

Dr. Prideaux¹ thinks he invented it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission ; or else, by pretending to have conversed with God, to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind by way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the Jews. But I do not find that Mohammed himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings as his followers have since done : and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles, it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with God in heaven, as Moses had heretofore done on the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas before he contented himself with persuading them that he had all by the ministry of Gabriel.

However, this story seemed so absurd and incredible that several of his followers left him upon it, and it had probably ruined the whole design, had not Abu Becr vouched for its veracity, and declared that if Mohammed affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increased it to such a degree, that he was secure of being able to make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased to impose on them for the future. And I am apt to think this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances Mohammed ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raising of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived.

In this year, called by the Mohammedans the accepted year, twelve men of Yathreb or Medina, of whom ten were of the tribe of Khazraj, and the other two of that of Aws, came to Mecca, and took an oath of fidelity to Mohammed at al Akaba, a hill on the

¹ Life of Mahomet, p. 41, 51, &c.

north of that city. This oath was called the women's oath; not that any women were present at this time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Mohammed or his religion; it being the same oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the Korân¹, and is to this effect, viz.—“That they should renounce all idolatry; that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the pagan Arabs used to do when they apprehended they should not be able to maintain them²), nor forge calumnies; and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable.” When they had solemnly engaged to do all this, Mohammed sent one of his disciples, named Masáb Ebn Omair, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion.

Masáb, being arrived at Medina, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly Osaid Ebn Hodeira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ebn Moâdh, prince of the tribe of Aws; Mohammedism spreading so fast, that there was scarce a house wherein there were not some who had embraced it.

The next year, being the thirteenth of Mohammed's mission, Masáb returned to Mecca, accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of Medina who had professed Islamism, besides some others who were as yet unbelievers. On their arrival, they immediately sent to Mohammed, and offered him their assistance, of which he was now in great need, for his adversaries were by this time grown so powerful in Mecca, that he could not stay there much longer without imminent danger. Wherefore he accepted their proposal, and met them one night, by appointment, at al Akaba above mentioned, attended by his uncle al Abbas, who, though

¹ Cap. 60.² V. Koran, c. 6.

he was not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a speech to those of Medina, wherein he told them, that as Mohammed was obliged to quit his native city, and seek an asylum elsewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him; and that if they were not firmly resolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner. Upon their protesting their sincerity, Mohammed swore to be faithful to them; on condition that they should protect him against all insults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. They then asked him what recompense they were to expect if they should happen to be killed in his quarrel; he answered paradise. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home¹; after Mohammed had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority among them as the twelve apostles of Christ had among his disciples².

Hitherto Mohammed had propagated his religion by fair means, so that the whole success of his enterprise before his flight to Medina must be attributed to persuasion only, and not to compulsion. For before this second oath of fealty or inauguration at al Akaba, he had no permission to use any force at all; and in several places of the Korân, which he pretended were revealed during his stay at Mecca, he declares his business was only to preach and admonish, that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace his religion; and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged solely unto God. And he was so far from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and when persecuted himself, chose rather to quit the place of

¹ Abulfeda. Vit. Moham. p. 40, &c.

² Ebn Ishâk.

his birth and retire to Medina, than to make any resistance. But this great passiveness and moderation seems entirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers for the first twelve years of his mission; for no sooner was he enabled, by the assistance of those of Medina, to make head against his enemies, than he gave out, that God had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the infidels; and at length, as his forces increased, he pretended to have the divine leave even to attack them; and to destroy idolatry, and set up the true faith by the sword; finding, by experience, that his designs would otherwise proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown; and knowing on the other hand that innovators, when they depend solely on their own strength, and can compel, seldom run any risk; from whence, the politician observes, it follows, that all the armed prophets have succeeded, and the unarmed ones have failed. Moses, Cyrus, Theseus, and Romulus would not have been able to establish the observance of their institutions for any length of time, had they not been armed¹. The first passage of the Korân which gave Mohammed the permission of defending himself by arms is said to have been that in the twenty-second chapter; after which a great number to the same purpose were revealed.

That Mohammed had a right to take up arms for his own defence against his unjust persecutors, may perhaps be allowed; but whether he ought afterwards to have made use of that means for the establishing of his religion is a question I will not here determine. How far the secular power may or ought to interpose in affairs of this nature, mankind are not agreed. The method of converting by the sword gives no very favourable idea of the faith which is so propagated, and is disallowed by every

¹ Machiavelli, Princ. c. 6.

body in those of another religion, though the same persons are willing to admit of it for the advancement of their own; supposing that though a false religion ought not to be established by authority, yet a true one may; and accordingly force is almost as constantly employed in these cases by those who have the power in their hands, as it is constantly complained of by those who suffer the violence. It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs that Mohammedism was no other than a human invention, that it owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword; and it is one of the strongest demonstrations of the divine original of Christianity, that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world by the mere dint of its own truth, after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecutions, as well as other oppositions, for three hundred years together, and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto¹; after which time indeed this proof seems to fail, Christianity being then established and Paganism abolished by public authority, which has had great influence in the propagation of the one and destruction of the other ever since². But to return.

Mohammed having provided for the security of his companions as well as his own, by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with those of Medina, directed them to repair thither, which they accordingly did; but himself with Abu Becr and Ali staid behind, having not yet received the divine permission, as he pretended, to leave Mecca. The Koreish fearing the consequence of this new alliance, began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent Mohammed's escape to Medina, and having held a council thereon, after several milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a resolution that he should be killed; and agreed that a man

¹ See Prideaux's Letter to the Deists, p. 220, &c.
Hist. Art. Mahomet, Rem. O.

² See Bayle's Dict.

should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design, and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the Hashemites were much inferior, and therefore durst not attempt to revenge their kinsman's death.

This conspiracy was scarce formed when by some means or other it came to Mohammed's knowledge, and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel, who had now ordered him to retire to Medina. Whereupon, to amuse his enemies, he directed Ali to lie down in his place and wrap himself up in his green cloak, which he did, and Mohammed escaped miraculously, as they pretend¹, to Abu Becr's house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. They in the mean time, looking through the crevice and seeing Ali, whom they took to be Mohammed himself, asleep, continued watching there till morning, when Ali arose and they found themselves deceived.

From Abu Becr's house Mohammed and he went to a cave in mount Thûr, to the south-east of Mecca, accompanied only by Amer Ebn Foheirah, Abu Becr's servant, and Abd'allah Ebn Oreikat, an idolater, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they lay hid three days to avoid the search of their enemies, which they very narrowly escaped, and not without the assistance of more miracles than one; for some say that the Koreish were struck with blindness, so that they could not find the cave; others, that after Mohammed and his companions were got in, two pigeons laid their eggs at the entrance, and a spider covered the mouth of the cave with her web², which made them look no far-

¹ See the notes to chap. 8, and 36.

² It is observable that the Jews have a like tradition concerning David, when he fled from Saul into the cave; and the Targum paraphrases these words of the second verse of Psalm lvii.

ther¹. Abu Becr seeing the prophet in such imminent danger became very sorrowful, whereupon Mohammed comforted him with these words, recorded in the Korân²,—"Be not grieved, for God is with us." Their enemies being retired, they left the cave and set out for Medina, by a by-road, and having fortunately, or as the Mohammedans tell us, miraculously, escaped some who were sent to pursue them, arrived safely at that city; whither Ali followed them in three days, after he had settled some affairs at Mecca³.

The first thing Mohammed did after his arrival at Medina was to build a temple for his religious worship; and a house for himself, which he did on a parcel of ground which had before served to put camels in, or as others tell us, for a burying ground, and belonged to Sahal and Soheil the sons of Amru, who were orphans⁴. This action Dr. Prideaux exclaims against, representing it as a flagrant instance of injustice, for that, says he, he violently dispossessed these poor orphans, the sons of an inferior artificer (whom the author he quotes⁵ calls a carpenter) of this ground, and so founded the first fabric of his worship with the like wickedness as he did his religion⁶. But to say nothing of the improbability that Mohammed should act in so impolitic a manner at his first coming, the Mohammedan writers set this affair in a quite different light; one tells us that he treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they desired he would accept it as a present⁷; however, as historians of good credit assure us, he actually bought it⁸, and the money was paid by Abu Becr⁹. Besides, had Mo-

(which was composed on occasion of that deliverance) "I will pray before the most high God that performeth all things for me," in this manner; "I will pray before the most high God, who called a spider to weave a web for my sake in the mouth of the cave."

¹ Al Beidâwi in Kor. c. 9. V. d'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 445.

² Cap. 9.

³ Abulfeda Vit. Moh. p. 50, &c. Ebn Shohnah.

⁴ Abulfeda, ib. p. 52, 53.

⁵ Disputatio Christiani contra Saracen. c. 4.

⁶ Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p. 58.

⁷ Al Bokhâri in Sonna.

⁸ Al

Jannâbi. ⁹ Ahmed Ebn Yusef.

hammed accepted it as a present, the orphans were in circumstances sufficient to have afforded it; for they were of a very good family, of the tribe of Najjâr, one of the most illustrious among the Arabs, and not the sons of a carpenter, as Dr. Prideaux's author writes, who took the word Najjâr, which signifies a carpenter, for an appellative, whereas it is a proper name¹.

Mohammed being securely settled at Medina, and able not only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, but to attack them, began to send out small parties to make reprisals on the Koreish; the first party consisting of no more than nine men, who intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe, and in the action took two prisoners. But what established his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of Bedr, which was fought in the second year of the Hejra, and is so famous in the Mohammedan history². As my design is not to write the life of Mohammed, but only to describe the manner in which he carried on his enterprise, I shall not enter into any detail of his subsequent battles and expeditions, which amounted to a considerable number. Some reckon no less than twenty-seven expeditions wherein Mohammed was personally present, in nine of which he gave battle, besides several other expeditions in which he was not present³: some of them however will be necessarily taken notice of in explaining several passages of the Korân. His forces he maintained partly by the contributions of his followers for this purpose, which he called by the name of Zacât or alms, and the paying of which he very artfully made one main article of his religion; and partly by ordering a fifth part of the plunder to be brought into the public treasury for that purpose, in which

¹ V. Gagnier, Not. in Abulfed. de Vita Moh. p. 52, 53.
on the Korân, chap. 3, p. 52.

² See the notes

³ V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 158.

matter he likewise pretended to act by the divine direction.

In a few years, by the success of his arms (notwithstanding he sometimes came off by the worst), he considerably raised his credit and power. In the sixth year of the Hejra he set out with one thousand four hundred men to visit the temple of Mecca, not with any intent of committing hostilities, but in a peaceable manner. However when he came to al Hodeibiya, which is situate partly within and partly without the sacred territory, the Koreish sent to let him know that they would not permit him to enter Mecca, unless he forced his way; whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a solemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he resolved to attack the city; but those of Mecca sending Arwa Ebn Masúd *, prince of the tribe of Thakîf, as their ambassador to desire peace, a truce was concluded between them for ten years, by which any person was allowed to enter into league either with Mohammed or with the Koreish as he thought fit.

It may not be improper, to show the inconceivable veneration and respect the Mohammedans by this time had for their prophet, to mention the account which the above-mentioned ambassador gave the Koreish, at his return, of their behaviour. He said he had been at the courts both of the Roman emperor and of the king of Persia, and never saw any prince so highly respected by his subjects as Mohammed was by his companions; for whenever he made the ablution, in order to say his prayers, they ran and caught the water that he had used; and whenever he spit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up every hair that fell from him with great superstition¹.

In the seventh year of the Hejra Mohammed began to think of propagating his religion beyond

* This is erroneous. The ambassador was Sohail Ebn Amru. See note, chap. 48.

¹ Abulfeda Vit. Moh p. 85.

the bounds of Arabia, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes with letters to invite them to Mohammedism. Nor was this project without some success. Khosrû Parviz, then king of Persia, received his letter with great disdain, and tore it in a passion, sending away the messenger very abruptly; which, when Mohammed heard, he said, God shall tear his kingdom. And soon after a messenger came to Mahommed from Badhan king of Yaman, who was a dependant on the Persians¹, to acquaint him that he had received orders to send him to Khosrû. Mohammed put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him that night that Khosrû was slain by his son Shirûyeh; adding that he was well assured his new religion and empire should rise to as great a height as that of Khosrû; and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace Mohammedism. The messenger being returned, Badhân in a few days received a letter from Shirûyeh informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturbance. Whereupon Badhân and the Persians with him turned Mohammedans².

The emperor Heraclius, as the Arabian historians assure us, received Mohammed's letter with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the bearer honourably. And some pretend that he would have professed this new faith, had he not been afraid of losing his crown³.

Mohammed wrote to the same effect to the king of Ethiopia, though he had been converted before, according to the Arab writers; and to Mokawkas, governor of Egypt, who gave the messenger a very favourable reception, and sent several valuable presents to Mohammed, and among the rest two girls, one of which, named Mary⁴, became a great favourite

¹ See before, p. 14.

² Abulfeda Vit. Moh. p. 92, &c.

³ Al Jannâbi.

⁴ It is however a different name from that of the Virgin Mary, which the Orientals always write Maryam or Miriam, whereas this is written Mâriya.

with him. He also sent letters of the like purport to several Arab princes, particularly one to al Hareth Ebn Abi Shamer ¹ king of Ghassân, who returning for answer that he would go to Mohammed himself, the prophet said, May his kingdom perish; another to Hawdha Ebn Ali, king of Yamâma, who was a Christian, and having some time before professed Islamism, had lately returned to his former faith; this prince sent back a very rough answer, upon which, Mohammed cursing him, he died soon after; and a third to al Mondar Ebn Sâwa, king of Bahrein, who embraced Mohammedism, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example ².

The eighth year of the Hejra was a very fortunate year to Mohammed. In the beginning of it Khâled Ebn al Walîd and Amru Ebn al As, both excellent soldiers, the first of whom afterwards conquered Syria and other countries, and the latter, Egypt, became proselytes of Mohammedism. And soon after the prophet sent three thousand men against the Grecian forces, to revenge the death of one of his ambassadors, who being sent to the governor of Bosra on the same errand as those who went to the above-mentioned princes, was slain by an Arab of the tribe of Ghassân at Mûta, a town in the territory of Balkâ in Syria, about three days' journey eastward from Jerusalem, near which town they encountered. The Grecians being vastly superior in number (for, including the auxiliary Arabs, they had an army of one hundred thousand men), the Mohammedans were repulsed in the first attack, and lost successively three of their generals, viz. Zeid Ebn Hâretha, Mohammed's freed man, Jaafar the son of Abu Taleb, and Abdâllah Ebn Rawâha; but Khâled Ebn al Walîd succeeding to the command overthrew the Greeks with a great slaughter, and brought away abundance of rich spoil ³; on occasion of which action Moham-

¹ This prince is omitted in Dr. Pocock's list of the kings of Ghassân, Spec. p. 77.

² Abulfeda, ubi sup. p. 94, &c.

³ Idem ib. p. 99, 100, &c.

med gave him the honourable title of *Seif min soyûf Allah*, one of the swords of God ¹.

In this year also Mohammed took the city of Mecca, the inhabitants whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before. For the tribe of Bocr, who were confederates of the Koreish, attacking those of Khozâah, who were allies of Mohammed, killed several of them, being supported in the action by a party of the Koreish themselves. The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended; and Abu Sofîân himself made a journey to Medina on purpose to heal the breach and renew the truce ²; but in vain; for Mohammed, glad of this opportunity, refused to see him; whereupon he applied to Abu Bocr and Ali, but they giving him no answer, he was obliged to return to Mecca as he came.

Mohammed immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might surprise the Meccans while they were unprovided to receive him: in a little time he began his march thither, and by that time he came near the city his forces were increased to ten thousand men. Those of Mecca being not in a condition to defend themselves against so formidable an army, surrendered at discretion; and Abu Sofîân saved his life by turning Mohammedan. About twenty-eight of the idolaters were killed by a party under the command of Khaled; but this happened contrary to Mohammed's orders, who, when he entered the town, pardoned all the Koreish, on their submission, except only six men and four women, who were more obnoxious than ordinary (some of them having apostatized), and were solemnly proscribed by the prophet himself; but of these no more than three men and one woman were put to death, the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing Mohammedism, and one of the women making her escape ³.

¹ Al Bokhâri in Sonna.

² This circumstance is a plain proof that the Koreish had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a mere pretence of Mohammed's, as Dr. Prideaux insinuates. *Life of Mah.* p. 94.

³ V. Abulfed. ubi sup. c. 51, 52.

The remainder of this year Mohammed employed in destroying the idols in and round about Mecca, sending several of his generals on expeditions for that purpose, and to invite the Arabs to Islamism; wherein it is no wonder if they now met with success.

The next year, being the ninth of the Hejra, the Mohammedans call the year of embassies: for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war between Mohammed and the Koreish; but so soon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine descendants of Ismael, whose prerogatives none offered to dispute, had submitted, they were satisfied that it was not in their power to oppose Mohammed, and therefore began to come in to him in great numbers, and to send embassies to make their submissions to him, both to Mecca while he staid there, and also to Medina whither he returned this year¹. Among the rest five kings of the tribe of Hamyar professed Mohammedism, and sent ambassadors to notify the same².

In the tenth year Ali was sent into Yaman to propagate the Mohammedan faith there, and, as it is said, converted the whole tribe of Hamdân in one day. Their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only those of Najrân, who, being Christians, chose rather to pay tribute³.

Thus was Mohammedism established, and idolatry rooted out, even in Mohammed's life-time (for he died the next year) throughout all Arabia, except only Yamama; where Moseilama, who set up also for a prophet as Mohammed's competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced till the Khalîfat of Abu Becr. And the Arabs being then united in one faith and under one prince, found themselves in a condition of making those conquests which extended the Mohammedan faith over so great a part of the world.

¹ V. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121.

² Abulfeda, ib. p. 129.

³ Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 128.

SECTION III.

Of the Korân itself, the peculiarities of that book ;
the manner of its being written and published, and
the general design of it.

THE word Korân, derived from the verb *karaa*, to read, signifies properly in Arabic, the reading, or rather, that which ought to be read ; by which name the Mohammedans denote not only the entire book or volume of the Korân, but also any particular chapter or section of it ; just as the Jews call either the whole Scripture, or any part of it, by the name of *Karâh*, or *Mikra*¹, words of the same origin and import. Which observation seems to overthrow the opinion of some learned Arabians, who would have the Korân so named, because it is a collection of the loose chapters or sheets which compose it ; the verb *karaa* signifying also to gather or collect² : and may also, by the way, serve as an answer to those who object³ that the Korân must be a book forged at once, and could not possibly be revealed by parcels at different times, during the course of several years, as the Mohammedans affirm ; because the Korân is often mentioned, and called by that name, in the very book itself. It may not be amiss to observe, that the syllable *Al* in the word *Alkoran* is only the Arabic article, signifying the ; and therefore ought to be omitted when the English article is prefixed.

Beside this peculiar name, the Korân is also honoured with several appellations common to other

¹ This name was at first given to the Pentateuch only. *Nehem. viii. V. Simon. Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. l. 1. c. 9.* ² *V. Erpen. Not. ad Hist. Joseph, p. 3.*

³ *Marracc. de Alcor. p. 41.*

books of scripture: as, *al Forkân*, from the verb *faraka*, to divide or distinguish; not, as the Moham-medan doctors say, because those books are divided into chapters or sections, or distinguish between good and evil, but in the same notion that the Jews use the word *Perek*, or *Pirka*, from the same root, to denote a section or portion of Scripture¹. It is also called *al Moshâf*, the volume, and *al Kitâb*, the book, by way of eminence, which answers to the *Biblia* of the Greeks; and *al Dhikr*, the admonition, which name is also given to the *Pentateuch*, and *Gospel*.

The *Korân* is divided into one hundred and fourteen larger portions of very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians *Sowar*, in the singular *Sûra*, a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying a row, order, or regular series; as a course of bricks in building, or a rank of soldiers in an army; and is the same in use and import with the *Sûra*, or *Tora* of the Jews, who also call the fifty-three sections of the *Pentateuch* *Sedârim*, a word of the same signification².

These chapters are not in the manuscript copies distinguished by their numerical order, though, for the reader's ease, they are numbered in this edition, but by particular titles, which (except that of the first, which is the initial chapter, or introduction to the rest, and by the old Latin translator not numbered among the chapters), are taken sometimes from a particular matter treated of, or person mentioned therein; but usually from the first word of note, exactly in the same manner as the Jews have named their *Sedârim*; though the word from which some chapters are denominated be very far distant, towards the middle, or perhaps the end of the chapter, which seems ridiculous. But the occasion of this seems to have been, that the verse or passage wherein

¹ V. Gol. in append. ad Gram. Arab. Erpen. 175. A chapter or sub-division of the *Massicth* of the *Mishna* is also called *Perek*. Maimon. præf. in *Seder Zeraim*, p. 57.

² V. Gol. ubi sup. 177. Each of the six grand divisions of the *Mishna* is also called *Seder*. Maimon. ubi sup. p. 55.

such word occurs was, in point of time, revealed and committed to writing before the other verses of the same chapter which precede it in order ; and the title being given to the chapter before it was completed, or the passages reduced to their present order, the verse from whence such title was taken did not always happen to begin the chapter. Some chapters have two or more titles, occasioned by the difference of the copies.

Some of the chapters having been revealed at Mecca, and others at Medina, the noting this difference makes a part of the title : but the reader will observe that several of the chapters are said to have been revealed partly at Mecca, and partly at Medina ; and as to others, it is yet a dispute among the commentators to which place of the two they belong.

Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal length also, which we customarily call verses ; but the Arabic word is *Ayât*, the same with the Hebrew *Ototh*, and signifies signs, or wonders ; such as are the secrets of God, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in those verses ; many of which have their particular titles also, imposed in the same manner as those of the chapters.

Notwithstanding this sub-division is common, and well known, yet I have never yet seen any manuscript wherein the verses are actually numbered ; though in some copies the number of verses in each chapter is set down after the title, which we have therefore added in the table of the chapters. And the Mohammedans seem to have some scruple in making an actual distinction in their copies, because the chief disagreement between their several editions of the *Korân* consists in the division and number of the verses ; and for this reason I have not taken upon me to make any such division.

Having mentioned the different editions of the *Korân*, it may not be amiss here to acquaint the

reader, that there are seven principal editions, if I may so call them, or ancient copies of that book; two of which were published and used at Medina, a third at Mecca, a fourth at Cufa, a fifth at Basra, a sixth in Syria, and a seventh called the common or vulgar edition. Of these editions, the first of Medina makes the whole number of the verses six thousand; the second and fifth, six thousand two hundred and fourteen; the third, six thousand two hundred and nineteen; the fourth, six thousand two hundred and thirty-six; the sixth, six thousand two hundred and twenty-six; and the last, six thousand two hundred and twenty-five. But they are all said to contain the same number of words, namely, seventy-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-nine¹; and the same number of letters, viz. three hundred and twenty-three thousand and fifteen²: for the Mohammedans have in this also imitated the Jews, that they have superstitiously numbered the very words and letters of their law; nay, they have taken the pains to compute (how exactly I know not) the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Korân³.

Besides these unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the Mohammedans have also divided their Korân into sixty equal portions, which they call Ahzâb, in the singular Hizb, each sub-divided into four equal parts; which is also an imitation of the Jews, who have an ancient division of their Mishna into sixty portions called Massictoth⁴: but the Korân is more usually divided into thirty sections only, named Ajzâ, from the singular Joz, each of twice the length of the former, and in the like manner sub-divided into four parts. These divisions are for the use of the readers of the Korân in the royal temples,

¹ Or as others reckon them, ninety-nine thousand four hundred and sixty-four. Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 25.

² Or according to another computation, three hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and thirteen. Ibid. V. Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 87.

³ V. Reland. de Relig. Moh. p. 25.

⁴ V. Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. Maimon. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57.

or in the adjoining chapels where the emperors and great men are interred. There are thirty of these readers belonging to every chapel, and each reads his section every day, so that the whole Korân is read over once a day¹. I have seen several copies divided in this manner, and bound up in as many volumes; and have thought it proper to mark these divisions in the margin of this translation by numeral letters.

Next after the title, at the head of every chapter except only the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the Mohammedans called the Bismillah, "In the name of the most merciful God;" which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark or distinguishing characteristic of their religion, it being counted a sort of impiety to omit it. The Jews for the same purpose make use of the form, In the name of the Lord, or, in the name of the great God: and the eastern Christians that of, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But I am apt to believe Mohammed really took this form, as he did many other things, from the Persian Magi, who used to begin their books in these words, Benâm Yezdân bakhshaishgher dâdâr, that is, In the name of the most merciful, just God².

This auspicatory form, and also the titles of the chapters, are by the generality of the doctors and commentators believed to be of divine original, no less than the text itself; but the more moderate are of opinion they are only human additions, and not the very word of God.

There are twenty-nine chapters of the Korân, which have this peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters of the alphabet, some with a single

¹ V. Smith, *De Moribus et Institut. Turcar.* p. 58. ² Hyde, *Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 14.

one, others with more. These letters the Moham-medans believe to be the peculiar marks of the Korân, and to conceal several profound mysteries, the certain understanding of which, the more intelligent confess has not been communicated to any mortal, their prophet only excepted. Notwithstanding which some will take the liberty of guessing at their meaning by that species of Cabbala called by the Jews Notarikon¹, and suppose the letters to stand for as many words expressing the names and attributes of God, his works, ordinances, and decrees; and therefore these mysterious letters, as well as the verses themselves, seem in the Korân to be called signs. Others explain the intent of these letters from their nature or organ, or else from their value in numbers, according to another species of the Jewish Cabbala called Gematria²; the uncertainty of which conjectures sufficiently appears from their disagreement. Thus for example, five chapters, one of which is the second, begin with these letters, A. L. M. which some imagine to stand for Allah latif magîd; God is gracious and to be glorified; or, Ana li minni, to me and from me, viz. belongs all perfection, and proceeds all good: or else for Ana Allah âlam, I am the most wise God, taking the first letter to mark the beginning of the first word, the second the middle of the second word, and the third the last of the third word; or for Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, the author, revealer, and preacher of the Korân. Others say, that as the letter A belongs to the lower part of the throat, the first of the organs of speech; L to the palate, the middle organ; and M to the lips, which are the last organ; so these letters signify that God is the beginning, middle, and end, or ought to be praised in the beginning, middle, and end, of all our words and actions: or, as the total value of those three letters in numbers

¹ V. Buxtorf. Lexicon Rabbin. happerushim, p. 62, &c.

² V. Ib. See also Schickardi Bechinat

is seventy-one, they signify that in the space of so many years, the religion preached in the Korân should be fully established. The conjecture of a learned Christian¹ is at least as certain as any of the former, who supposes those letters were set there by the amanuensis, for Amar li Mohammed, i. e. At the command of Mohammed, as the five letters prefixed to the nineteenth chapter seem to be there written by a Jewish scribe, for Cob yaas, i. e. Thus he commanded.

The Korân is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is confessedly the standard of the Arabic tongue, and as the more orthodox believe, and are taught by the book itself, inimitable by any human pen (though some sectaries have been of another opinion²), and therefore insisted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead³, and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original.

And to this miracle did Mohammed himself chiefly appeal for the confirmation of his mission, publicly challenging the most eloquent men in Arabia, which was at that time stocked with thousands whose sole study and ambition it was to excel in elegance of style and composition⁴, to produce even a single chapter that might be compared with it⁵. I will mention but one instance out of several, to show that this book was really admired for the beauty of its composure by those who must be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of

¹ Golius in append. ad Gram. Erp. p. 182.
Abd'alhalim, apud Marracc. de Alc. p. 43.

² See after.

³ Ahmed

⁴ A noble writer therefore mistakes the question when he says these eastern religionists leave their sacred writ the sole standard of literate performance by extinguishing all true learning. For though they were destitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant, or unable to compose elegantly in their own tongue. See L. Shaftesbury's Characteristics, Vol. 3. p. 235.

⁵ Al Gazali, apud Poc. Spec. 191. See Korân, c. 17, and also c. 2. p. 4. and c. 11, &c.

Labid Ebn Rabia, one of the greatest wits in Arabia in Mohammed's time, being fixed up on the gate of the temple of Mecca, an honour allowed to none but the most esteemed performances, none of the other poets durst offer any thing of their own in competition with it. But the second chapter of the Korân being fixed up by it soon after, Labid himself (then an idolater) on reading the first verses only, was struck with admiration, and immediately professed the religion taught thereby, declaring that such words could proceed from an inspired person only. This Labid was afterwards of great service to Mohammed, in writing answers to the satires and invectives that were made on him and his religion by the infidels, and particularly by Amri al Kais¹, prince of the tribe of Asad², and author of one of those seven famous poems called al Moallakat³.

The style of the Korân is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner, and scripture phrases. It is concise, and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent; of which the reader cannot but observe several instances, though he must not imagine the translation comes up to the original, notwithstanding my endeavours to do it justice.

Though it be written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continued rhyme, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions too frequently made, which appear still more ridiculous in a translation, where the ornament, such as it is, for whose sake they were made, cannot be perceived. However the Arabians are so mightily delighted with this jingling, that they employ it in their most elaborate

¹ D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 512, &c. before, p. 33.

² Poc. Spec. p. 80.

³ See

compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of and allusions to the Korân, so that it is next to impossible to understand them without being well versed in this book.

It is probable the harmony of expression which the Arabians find in the Korân might contribute not a little to make them relish the doctrine therein taught, and give an efficacy to arguments which had they been nakedly proposed without this rhetorical dress, might not have so easily prevailed. Very extraordinary effects are related of the power of words well chosen and artfully placed, which are no less powerful either to ravish or amaze than music itself; wherefore as much has been ascribed by the best orators to this part of rhetoric as to any other¹. He must have a very bad ear, who is not uncommonly moved with the very cadence of a well-turned sentence; and Mohammed seems not to have been ignorant of the enthusiastic operation of rhetoric on the minds of men; for which reason he has not only employed his utmost skill in these his pretended revelations, to preserve that dignity and sublimity of style, which might seem not unworthy of the majesty of that Being, whom he gave out to be the author of them; and to imitate the prophetic manner of the Old Testament; but he has not neglected even the other arts of oratory; wherein he succeeded so well, and so strangely captivated the minds of his audience, that several of his opponents thought it the effect of witchcraft and enchantment, as he sometimes complains².

“The general design of the Korân,” (to use the words of a very learned person), “seems to be this. To unite the professors of the three different religions then followed in the populous country of Arabia, who for the most part lived promiscuously, and wandered without guides, the far greater number

¹ See Casaubon of Enthusiasm, chap. 4.

² Korân, chap. 15, 21, &c.

being idolaters, and the rest Jews and Christians mostly of erroneous and heterodox belief, in the knowledge and worship of one eternal, invisible God, by whose power all things were made, and those which are not, may be, the supreme Governor, Judge, and absolute Lord of the creation; established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution, and enforced by setting before them rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal: and to bring them all to the obedience of Mohammed, as the prophet and ambassador of God, who after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate God's religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal¹."

The great doctrine then of the Korân is the unity of God; to restore which point Mohammed pretended was the chief end of his mission; it being laid down by him as a fundamental truth, that there never was nor ever can be more than one true orthodox religion. For though the particular laws or ceremonies are only temporary, and subject to alteration according to the divine direction, yet the substance of it being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same. And he taught that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, God had the goodness to reinform and readmonish mankind thereof, by several prophets, of whom Moses and Jesus were the most distinguished, till the appearance of Mohammed, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage people to hearken to him, great part of the Korân is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly

¹ Golius, in append. ad Gram. Erp. p. 176.

inflicted by God on those who rejected and abused his messengers; several of which stories or some circumstances of them are taken from the Old and New Testament, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and Christians of those ages, set up in the Korân as truths in opposition to the Scriptures, which the Jews and Christians are charged with having altered; and I am apt to believe that few or none of the relations or circumstances in the Korân were invented by Mohammed, as is generally supposed, it being easy to trace the greatest part of them much higher, as the rest might be, were more of those books extant, and it was worth while to make the inquiry.

The other part of the Korân is taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and above all to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true God, and resignation to his will; among which are many excellent things intermixed, not unworthy even a Christian's perusal.

But besides these, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. For whenever any thing happened which perplexed and gravelled Mohammed, and which he could not otherwise get over, he had constant recourse to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice cases; and he found the success of this method answer his expectation. It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole Korân at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would probably have done; for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve: but as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as God saw proper that they should be published for the conversion and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to

answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur. If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the Korân, which the Mohammedans are taught to believe, they easily answer it by their doctrine of absolute predestination; according to which all the accidents for the sake of which these occasional passages were revealed were predetermined by God from all eternity.

That Mohammed was really the author and chief contriver of the Korân, is beyond dispute; though it be highly probable that he had no small assistance in his design from others, as his countrymen failed not to object to him¹; however they differed so much in their conjectures as to the particular persons who gave him such assistance², that they were not able, it seems, to prove the charge; Mohammed, it is to be presumed, having taken his measures too well to be discovered. Dr. Prideaux³ has given the most probable account of this matter, though chiefly from Christian writers, who generally mix such ridiculous fables with what they deliver, that they deserve not much credit.

However it be, the Mohammedans absolutely deny the Korân was composed by their prophet himself, or any other for him; it being their general and orthodox belief that it is of divine original, nay that it is eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of God; that the first transcript has been from everlasting by God's throne, written on a table of vast bigness, called the preserved table, in which are also recorded the divine decrees past and future; that a copy from this table, in one volume on paper, was by the ministry of the angel Gabriel sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of Ramadân, on the night of power⁴: from

¹ V. Kor. c. 16. and c. 25.
of Mahomet, p. 31, &c.

² See the notes on those passages.
⁴ V. Kor. c. 97, and not. *ibid*.

³ Life

whence Gabriel revealed it to Mohammed by parcels, some at Mecca and some at Medina, at different times, during the space of twenty-three years, as the exigency of affairs required : giving him however the consolation to show him the whole (which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of paradise) once a year ; but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it twice. They say that few chapters were delivered entire, the most part being revealed piece-meal, and written down from time to time by the prophet's amanuensis in such or such a part of such or such a chapter till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel¹. The first parcel that was revealed is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter².

After the new revealed passages had been from the prophet's mouth taken down in writing by his scribe, they were published to his followers, several of whom took copies for their private use, but the far greater number got them by heart. The originals, when returned, were put promiscuously into a chest, observing no order of time, for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were revealed.

When Mohammed died, he left his revelations in the same disorder I have mentioned, and not digested into the method, such as it is, which we now find them in. This was the work of his successor Abu Becr, who considering that a great number of passages were committed to the memory of Mohammed's followers, many of whom were slain in their wars, ordered the whole to be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had

¹ Therefore it is a mistake of Dr. Prideaux to say it was brought him chapter by chapter. *Life of Mahomet*, p. 6. The Jews also say the law was given to Moses by parcels. V. Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 365.

² Not the whole chapter, as Golius says. *Append. ad Gr. Erp.* p. 180.

gotten them by heart. And this transcript when completed he committed to the custody of Hafsa the daughter of Omar, one of the prophet's widows¹.

From this relation it is generally imagined that Abu Becr was really the compiler of the Korân; though for aught appears to the contrary Mohammed left the chapters complete as we now have them, excepting such passages as his successor might add or correct from those who had gotten them by heart; what Abu Becr did else being perhaps no more than to range the chapters in their present order, which he seems to have done without any regard to time, having generally placed the longest first.

However in the thirtieth year of the Hejra, Othmân being then Khalîf, and observing the great disagreement in the copies of the Korân in the several provinces of the empire, those of Irak, for example, following the reading of Abu Musa al Ashari, and the Syrians that of Macdâd Ebn Aswad, he, by advice of the companions, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of Abu Becr, in Hafsa's care, under the inspection of Zeid Ebn Thabet, Abd'allah Ebn Zobair, Saïd Ebn al As, and Abd'alrahmân Ebn al Hâreth the Makhzumite; whom he directed that wherever they disagreed about any word, they should write it in the dialect of the Koreish, in which it was at first delivered². These copies when made were dispersed in the several provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and suppressed. Though many things in Hafsa's copy were corrected by the abovementioned supervisors, yet some few various readings still occur; the most material of which will be taken notice of in their proper places.

The want of vowels³ in the Arabic character

¹ Elmacin. in Vita Abu Becr. Abulfeda. and Othmân.

² Abulfeda, in Vitis Abubecr

³ The characters or marks of the Arabic vowels were not used till several years after Mohammed. Some ascribe the invention of them to

made Mokris, or readers, whose peculiar study and profession it was to read the Korân with its proper vowels, absolutely necessary. But these differing in their manner of reading, occasioned still further variations in the copies of the Korân, as they are now written with the vowels; and herein consist much the greater part of the various readings throughout the book. The readers whose authority the commentators chiefly allege, in admitting these various readings, are seven in number.

There being some passages in the Korân which are contradictory, the Mohammedan doctors obviate any objection from thence, by the doctrine of abrogation; for they say, that God in the Korân commanded several things which were for good reasons afterward revoked and abrogated.

Passages abrogated are distinguished into three kinds: the first, where the letter and the sense are both abrogated; the second, where the letter only is abrogated, but the sense remains; and the third, where the sense is abrogated, though the letter remains.

Of the first kind were several verses, which by the tradition of Malec Ebn Ans were in the prophet's lifetime read in the chapter of repentance, but are not now extant, one of which, being all he remembered of them, was the following, "If a son of Adam had two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third; and if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth (to be added) unto them; neither shall the belly of a son of Adam be filled, but with dust. God will turn unto him who shall repent." Another instance of this kind we have from the tradition of Abd'allah Ebn Masûd, who reported that the prophet gave him a verse to read which he wrote down;

Yahya Ebn Yâmer, some to Nasr Ebn Asam, surnamed al Leithi, and others to Abu'laswad al Dili; all three of whom were doctors of Basra, and immediately succeeded the companions. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 87.

but the next morning looking in his book, he found it was vanished, and the leaf blank: this he acquainted Mohammed with, who assured him the verse was revoked the same night.

Of the second kind is a verse called the verse of stoning, which according to the tradition of Omar, afterwards Khalîf, was extant while Mohammed was living, though it be not now to be found. The words are these, “ Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both; it is a punishment ordained by God; for God is mighty and wise.”

Of the last kind are observed several verses in sixty-three different chapters, to the number of 225. Such as the precepts of turning in prayer to Jerusalem; fasting after the old custom; forbearance towards idolaters; avoiding the ignorant, and the like¹. The passages of this sort have been carefully collected by several writers, and are most of them remarked in their proper places.

Though it is the belief of the Sonnites or orthodox that the Korân is uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the very essence of God, and Mohammed himself is said to have pronounced him an infidel who asserted the contrary², yet several have been of a different opinion; particularly the sect of the Môtazalites³, and the followers of Isa Ebn Sobeih Abu Musa, surnamed al Mozdâr, who stuck not to accuse those who held the Korân to be uncreated of infidelity, as assertors of two eternal beings⁴.

This point was controverted with so much heat that it occasioned many calamities under some of the Khalifs of the family of Abbâs, al Mamûn⁵ making a public edict declaring the Korân to be

¹ Abu Hashem Hebatallah, apud Marracc. de Alc. p. 42. Spec. 220.

² See after, in Sect. 8.

³ Apud. Poc.

⁴ V. Poc. Spec. p. 219, &c.

⁵ Anno Hej. 218. Abulfarag. p. 245. v. etiam Elmacin. in Vita al Mamûn.

created, which was confirmed by his successors al Mótasem¹ and al Wátheke², who whipt, imprisoned, and put to death those of the contrary opinion. But at length al Motawakkel³, who succeeded al Wátheke, put an end to these persecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releasing those that were imprisoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point⁴.

Al Ghazâli seems to have tolerably reconciled both opinions, saying, that the Korân is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in memory; and is yet eternal, subsisting in God's essence, and not possible to be separated thence by any transmission into mens' memories or the leaves of books⁵; by which he seems to mean no more than that the original idea of the Korân only is really in God, and consequently co-essential and co-eternal with him, but that the copies are created, and the work of man.

The opinion of al Jahedh, chief of a sect bearing his name, touching the Korân, is too remarkable to be omitted: he used to say it was a body, which might sometimes be turned into a man⁶, and sometimes into a beast⁷; which seems to agree with the notion of those who assert the Korân to have two faces, one of a man, the other of a beast⁸; thereby,

¹ In the time of al Mótasem, a doctor named Abu Harîn Ebn al Baca found out a distinction to screen himself, by affirming that the Korân was ordained, because it is said in that book, "And I have ordained thee the Korân." He went still farther to allow that what was ordained was created, and yet he denied it thence followed that the Korân was created. Abulfarag. p. 253. ² Ibid. p. 257. ³ Anno Hej. 242. ⁴ Abulfarag. p. 262. ⁵ Al Ghazâli, in prof. fid.

⁶ The Khalif al Walid Ebn Yazid, who was the eleventh of the race of Ommeyya, and is looked on by the Mohammedans as a reprobate, and one of no religion, seems to have treated this book as a rational creature. For dipping into it one day, the first words he met with were these; "Every rebellious perverse person shall not prosper:" Whereupon he stuck it on a lance and shot it to pieces with arrows, repeating these verses;

"Dost thou rebuke every rebellious perverse person? behold, I am that rebellious perverse person."

"When thou appearest before thy Lord on the day of resurrection, say, O Lord, al Walid has torn me thus."—Ebn Shohnah. v. Poc. Spec. 223. ⁷ Poc. Spec. p. 222. ⁸ Herbelot. p. 87.

as I conceive, intimating the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the spirit.

As some have held the Korân to be created, so there have not been wanting those who have asserted that there is nothing miraculous in that book in respect to style or composition, excepting only the prophetic relations of things past, and predictions of things to come; and that had God left men to their natural liberty, and not restrained them in that particular, the Arabians could have composed something not only equal, but superior to the Korân in eloquence, method, and purity of language. This was another opinion of the Môtazalites, and in particular of al Mozdâr abovementioned and al Nodhâm ¹.

The Korân being the Mohammedans' rule of faith and practice, it is no wonder its expositors and commentators are so very numerous. And it may not be amiss to take notice of the rules they observe in expounding it.

One of the most learned commentators ² distinguishes the contents of the Korân into allegorical and literal. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and ænigmatical passages, and such as are repealed or abrogated; the latter those which are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

To explain these severally in a right manner, it is necessary from tradition and study to know the time when each passage was revealed, its circumstances, state, and history, and the reasons or particular emergencies for the sake of which it was revealed ³. Or, more explicitly, whether the passage was revealed at Mecca, or at Medina; whether it be abrogated, or does itself abrogate any other passage;

¹ Abulfeda, Shahrestani, &c. apud. Poc. Spec. p. 222, et Marracc. de Kor. p. 44. ² Al Zamakhshari. V. Korân, chap. 3, p. 51. ³ Ahmed Ebn Moh. al Thalebi, in Princip. Expos. Alc.

whether it be anticipated in order of time, or postponed; whether it be distinct from the context, or depends thereon; whether it be particular or general; and lastly whether it be implicit by intention, or explicit in words¹.

By what has been said the reader may easily believe this book is in the greatest reverence and esteem among the Mohammedans. They dare not so much as touch it without being first washed or legally purified²; which lest they should do by inadvertence, they write these words on the cover or label, "Let none touch it, but they who are clean." They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it, consult it in their weighty occasions³, carry it with them to war, write sentences of it on their banners, adorn it with gold and precious stones, and knowingly suffer it not to be in the possession of any of a different persuasion.

The Mohammedans, far from thinking the Korân to be profaned by a translation, as some authors have written⁴, have taken care to have their scriptures translated not only into the Persian tongue, but into several others, particularly the Javan and Malayan⁵, though out of respect to the original Arabic, these versions are generally (if not always) interlineary.

¹ Yahya Ebn al Salâm al Basri, in Princip. Expos. Alc.

² The Jews have the same veneration for their law; not daring to touch it with unwashed hands, nor then neither without a cover. V. Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moh. p. 366.

³ This they do by dipping into it, and taking an omen from the words which they first light on: which practice they also learned of the Jews, who do the same with the scripture. V. Millium, ubi sup.

⁴ Sionita, de Urb. Orient. p. 41. et Marracc. de Alc. p. 33.

⁵ Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 265.

SECTION IV.

Of the Doctrines and positive Precepts of the Korân,
which relate to Faith and religious Duties.

· IT has been already observed more than once, that the fundamental position on which Mohammed erected the superstructure of his religion was, that from the beginning to the end of the world there has been, and for ever will be, but one true orthodox belief; consisting, as to matter of faith, in the acknowledging of the only true God, and the believing in and obeying such messengers or prophets as he should from time to time send, with proper credentials to reveal his will to mankind; and as to matter of practice, in the observance of the immutable and eternal laws of right and wrong, together with such other precepts and ceremonies as God should think fit to order for the time being, according to the different dispensations in different ages of the world: for these last he allowed were things indifferent in their own nature, and became obligatory by God's positive precept only; and were therefore temporary and subject to alteration according to his will and pleasure. And to this religion he gives the name of Islâm, which word signifies *resignation*, or *submission* to the service and commands of God¹; and is used as the proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which they will also have to be the same at bottom with that of all the prophets from Adam.

¹ The root Salama, from whence Islâm is formed, in the first and fourth conjugations, signifies also *to be saved*, or *to enter into a state of salvation*; according to which, Islâm may be translated *the religion or state of salvation*: but the other sense is more approved by the Mohammedans, and alluded to in the Korân itself. See c. 2. p. 23, and c. 3. p. 53.

Under pretext that this eternal religion was in his time corrupted, and professed in its purity by no one sect of men, Mohammed pretended to be a prophet sent by God, to reform those abuses which had crept into it, and to reduce it to its primitive simplicity; with the addition however of peculiar laws and ceremonies, some of which had been used in former times, and others were now first instituted. And he comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions, or articles of faith; *viz.* that there is but one God, and that himself was the apostle of God; in consequence of which latter article, all such ordinances and institutions as he thought fit to establish must be received as obligatory and of divine authority.

The Mohammedans divide their religion, which as I just now said they call *Islâm*, into two distinct parts; *Imân*, i. e. *faith*, or theory, and *Dîn*, i. e. *religion*, or practice; and teach that it is built on five fundamental points, one belonging to faith, and the other four to practice.

The first is that confession of faith which I have already mentioned; that “there is no god but the true God; and that Mohammed is his apostle.” Under which they comprehend six distinct branches; *viz.* 1. Belief in God; 2. In his angels; 3. In his scriptures; 4. In his prophets; 5. In the resurrection and day of judgment; and, 6. In God’s absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil.

The four points relating to practice are, 1. Prayer, under which are comprehended those washings or purifications which are necessary preparations required before prayer: 2. Alms; 3. Fasting; and, 4. The pilgrimage to Mecca. Of each of these I shall speak in their order.

That both Mohammed and those among his followers who are reckoned orthodox had and continue to have just and true notions of God and his attributes (always excepting their obstinate and im-

pious rejecting of the Trinity) appears so plain from the Korân itself and all the Mohammedan divines, that it would be loss of time to refute those who suppose the God of Mohammed to be different from the true God, and only a fictitious deity or idol of his own creation¹. Nor shall I here enter into any of the Mohammedan controversies concerning the divine nature and attributes, because I shall have a more proper opportunity of doing it elsewhere².

The existence of angels and their purity are absolutely required to be believed in the Korân; and he is reckoned an infidel who denies there are such beings, or hates any of them³, or asserts any distinction of sexes among them. They believe them to have pure and subtil bodies, created of fire⁴; that they neither eat nor drink, nor propagate their species; that they have various forms and offices; some adoring God in different postures, others singing praises to him, or interceding for mankind. They hold that some of them are employed in writing down the actions of men; others in carrying the throne of God and other services.

The four angels whom they look on as more eminently in God's favour, and often mention on account of the offices assigned them, are Gabriel, to whom they give several titles, particularly those of the *holy spirit*⁵, and the *angel of revelations*⁶, supposing him to be honoured by God with a greater confidence than any other, and to be employed in writing down the divine decrees⁷; Michael, the friend and protector of the Jews⁸; Azrâel, the *angel of death*, who separates men's souls from their bodies⁹; and Israfil, whose office it will be to sound the trumpet at the resurrection¹⁰. The

¹ Marracc. in Alc. p. 102.

² Sect. VIII.

³ Korân, c. 2. p. 18.

⁴ Ib. c. 7, and 38.

⁵ Ib. c. 2. p. 16.

⁶ See the notes, ib. p. 18.

⁷ V. Hyde, Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 262.

⁸ V. ib. p. 271. and not in Kor.

p. 18.

⁹ V. not. ib. p. 5.

¹⁰ Kor. c. 6, 13, and 86. The offices of

these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal gospel of Barnabas; where it is said that Gabriel reveals the secrets of God,

Mohammedans also believe that two guardian angels attend on every man, to observe and write down his actions¹, being changed every day, and therefore called al Moakkibât, or the angels who continually *succeed* one another.

This whole doctrine concerning angels Mohammed and his disciples have borrowed from the Jews, who learned the names and offices of those beings from the Persians, as themselves confess². The ancient Persians firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over the affairs of this world (as the Magians still do), and therefore assigned them distinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months and the days of their months. Gabriel they called Sorûsh and Revân bakhsh, or *the giver of souls*, in opposition to the contrary office of the angel of death, to whom among other names they gave that of Mordâd, or *the giver of death*; Michael they called Beshter, who according to them provides sustenance for mankind³. The Jews teach that the angels were created of fire⁴; that they have several offices⁵; that they intercede for men⁶, and attend them⁷. The angel of death they name Dûma, and say he calls dying persons by their respective names at their last hour⁸.

The devil, whom Mohammed names Eblîs, from his *despair*, was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, called Azazil⁹, and fell, according to the doctrine of the Korân, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God¹⁰.

Besides angels and devils, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân to believe the existence of an

Michael combats against his enemies, Raphael receives the souls of those who die, and Uriel is to call every one to judgment on the last day. See the Menagiana, Tom. 4, p. 333.

¹ Kor. c. 10. ² Talmud Hieros. in Rosh hashana. ³ V. Hyde, ubi sup. c. 19, and 20. ⁴ Gemar. in Hagig. and Bereshit rabbah. &c. V. Psalm civ. 4. ⁵ Yalkut hadash. ⁶ Gemar. in Shebet, and Bava Bathra, &c. ⁷ Midrash, Yalkut Shemûni. ⁸ Gemar. Berachoth. ⁹ V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 189, &c. ¹⁰ Korân, c. 2. p. 7. See also c. 7, 38, &c.

intermediate order of creatures, which they call Jin or Genii, created also of fire¹, but of a grosser fabric than angels: since they eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death². Some of these are supposed to be good, and others bad, and capable of future salvation or damnation, as men are; whence Mohammed pretended to be sent for the conversion of Genii as well as men³. The Orientals pretend that these Genii inhabited the world for many ages before Adam was created, under the government of several successive princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon; but falling at length into an almost general corruption, Eblis was sent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined: that some of that generation still remaining, were by Tahmûrath, one of the ancient kings of Persia, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Kâf. Of which successions and wars they have many fabulous and romantic stories. They also make different ranks and degrees among these beings (if they be not rather supposed to be of a different species), some being called absolutely Jin, some Peri or fairies, some Div or giants, others Tacwîns or fates⁴.

The Mohammedan notions concerning these Genii agree almost exactly with what the Jews write of a sort of dæmons, called Shedîm, whom some fancy to have been begotten by two angels named Aza and Azaël, on Naamah the daughter of Lamech, before the flood⁵. However the Shedîm, they tell us, agree in three things with the ministering angels; for that like them, they have wings, and fly from one end of the world to the other, and have some knowledge of futurity; and in three things they agree with men, like whom they eat and drink, are propagated, and

¹ Korân, c. 55. See the notes there.

² Jallalo'ddin, in Kor. c. 2, & 18.

³ V. Korân, c. 55, 72, & 74.

⁴ See D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 369, 820, &c.

⁵ In libro Zohar.

die¹. They also say that some of them believe in the law of Moses, and are consequently good, and that others of them are infidels and reprobates².

As to the Scriptures, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân that God, in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of his will in writing to several prophets, the whole and every word of which it is absolutely necessary for a good Moslem to believe. The number of these sacred books was, according to them, 104. Of which ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Edris or Enoch, ten to Abraham; and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Korân, were successively delivered to Moses, David, Jesus, and Mohammed; which last being the seal of the prophets, those revelations are now closed, and no more are to be expected. All these divine books, except the four last, they agree to be now entirely lost, and their contents unknown; though the Sabians have several books which they attribute to some of the antediluvian prophets. And of those four, the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, they say, have undergone so many alterations and corruptions, that though there may possibly be some part of the true word of God therein, yet no credit is to be given to the present copies in the hands of the Jews and Christians. The Jews in particular are frequently reflected on in the Korân for falsifying and corrupting their copies of their law; and some instances of such pretended corruptions, both in that book and the two others, are produced by Mohammedan writers; wherein they merely follow their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends. Whether they have any copy of the Pentateuch among them different from that of the Jews or not, I am not entirely satisfied, since a person who travelled into the east was told, that they had

¹ Gemara, in Hagiga.

² Igrat Baale hayyim. c. 15.

the books of Moses, though very much corrupted¹; but I know nobody that has ever seen them. However they certainly have and privately read a book which they call the Psalms of David, in Arabic and Persian, to which are added some prayers of Moses, Jonas, and others². This Mr. Reland supposes to be a translation from our copies (though no doubt falsified in more places than one); but Mr. D'Herbelot says it contains not the same Psalms which are in our Psalter, being no more than an extract from thence mixed with other very different pieces³. The easiest way to reconcile these two learned gentlemen is to presume that they speak of different copies. The Mohammedans have also a Gospel in Arabic, attributed to St. Barnabas, wherein the history of Jesus Christ is related in a manner very different from what we find in the true Gospels, and correspondent to those traditions which Mohammed has followed in his Korân. Of this Gospel the Moriscoes in Africa have a translation in Spanish⁴; and there is in the library of prince Eugene of Savoy a manuscript of some antiquity, containing an Italian translation of the same Gospel⁵, made, it is to be supposed, for the use of renegades. This book appears to be no original forgery of the Mohammedans, though they have no doubt interpolated and altered it since, the better to serve their purpose; and in particular, instead of the Paraclete or Comforter⁶, they have in this apocryphal gospel inserted the word Periclyte, that is the famous or illustrious, by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the signification of Mohammed in Arabic⁷: and this they say to justify that passage of the Korân⁸, where Jesus Christ is formally asserted to have foretold his coming, under his other

¹ Terry's Voyage to the East Indies, p. 277.

² De Rel. Moham. p. 23.

³ A copy of this kind he tells us is in the library of the Duke of Tuscany, Bibl. Orient. p. 924.

⁴ Reland, ubi sup.

⁵ Menagian. T. 4, p. 321, &c.

⁶ John xiv. 16, 26. xv. 26, and xvi. 7, compared with Luke, xxiv. 49.

⁷ See

Toland's Nazarcus, the first eight chapters.

⁸ Chap. 61.

name of Ahmed ; which is derived from the same root as Mohammed, and of the same import. From these or some other forgeries of the same stamp it is that the Mohammedans quote several passages, of which there are not the least footsteps in the New Testament. But after all we must not hence infer that the Mohammedans, much less all of them, hold these copies of theirs to be the ancient and genuine Scriptures themselves. If any argue, from the corruption which they insist has happened to the Pentateuch and Gospel, that the Korân may possibly be corrupted also ; they answer, that God has promised that he will take care of the latter, and preserve it from any addition or diminution¹ ; but that he left the two other to the care of men. However they confess there are some various readings in the Korân², as has been observed.

Besides the books above mentioned, the Mohammedans also take notice of the writings of Daniel and several other prophets, and even make quotations thence : but these they do not believe to be divine scripture, or of any authority in matters of religion³.

The number of the prophets, which have been from time to time sent by God into the world, amounts to no less than 224,000, according to one Mohammedan tradition, or to 124,000, according to another ; among whom 313 were apostles, sent with special commissions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and superstition ; and six of them brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding : these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. All the prophets in general the Mohammedans believe to have been free from great sins, and errors of consequence, and professors of one and the same religion, that is Islâm, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions which they observed. They allow of degrees

¹ Kor. c. 15.² Reland, ubi sup. p. 24, 27.³ Idem, ib. p. 41.

among them, and hold some of them to be more excellent and honourable than others¹. The first place they give to the revealers and establishers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles.

In this great number of prophets, they not only reckon divers patriarchs and persons named in scripture, but not recorded to have been prophets, (wherein the Jewish and Christian writers have sometimes led the way²), as Adam, Seth, Lot, Ismael, Nun, Joshua, &c. and introduce some of them under different names, as Enoch, Heber, and Jethro, who are called in the Korân Edris, Hûd, and Shoaib; but several others, whose very names do not appear in Scripture (though they endeavour to find some persons there to fix them on), as Saleh, Khedr, Dhu'lkefl, &c. Several of their fabulous traditions concerning these prophets we shall occasionally mention in the notes on the Korân.

As Mohammed acknowledged the divine authority of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, he often appeals to the consonancy of the Korân with those writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himself, as proofs of his mission, and he frequently charges the Jews and Christians with stifling the passages which bear witness to him³. His followers also fail not to produce several texts even from our present copies of the Old and New Testament, to support their master's cause⁴.

The next article of faith required by the Korân is the belief of a general resurrection and a future judgment. But before we consider the Mohammedan tenets in those points, it will be proper to mention what they are taught to believe concerning the in-

¹ Kor. c. 2, p. 44, &c.

² Thus Heber is said to have been a prophet by the Jews; (Seder Olam. p. 2.) and Adam by Epiphanius. (Adv. Hæres. p. 6.) See also Joseph. Ant. l. 1, c. 2.

³ Korân, c. 2, p. 8, 17, 26, c. 3. &c.

⁴ Some of these texts are produced by Dr. Prideaux at the end of his Life of Mahomet, and more by Marracci in Alcor. p. 26, &c.

intermediate state, both of the body and of the soul, after death.

When a corpse is laid in the grave, they say he is received by an angel, who gives him notice of the coming of the two Examiners; which are two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, named Monker and Nakir. These order the dead person to sit upright, and examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of God, and the mission of Mohammed: if he answer rightly, they suffer the body to rest in peace, and it is refreshed by the air of paradise; but if not, they beat him on the temples with iron maces, till he roars out for anguish so loud, that he is heard by all from east to west, except men and genii. Then they press the earth on the corpse, which is gnawed and stung till the resurrection by ninety-nine dragons with seven heads each: or, as others say, their sins will become venomous beasts, the grievous ones stinging like dragons, the smaller like scorpions, and the others like serpents: circumstances which some understand in a figurative sense¹.

This examination of the sepulchre is not only founded on an express tradition of Mohammed, but is also plainly hinted at, though not directly taught, in the Korân², as the commentators agree. It is therefore believed by the orthodox Mohammedans in general, who take care to have their graves made hollow, that they may sit up with more ease while they are examined by the angels³; but is utterly rejected by the sect of the Motázalites, and perhaps by some others.

These notions Mohammed certainly borrowed from the Jews, among whom they were very anciently received⁴. They say that the angel of death coming and sitting on the grave, the soul immediately enters the body and raises it on its feet; that he then

¹ Al Ghazâli. V. Poc. not. in Port. Mofis, p. 241, &c.

² Cap. 8, and 17, &c. ³ Smith, De Morib. et Institut. Turcar. Ep. 2, p. 57.

⁴ V. Hyde, in notis ad Bobov. de Visit. Ægrot. p. 19.

examines the departed person, and strikes him with a chain half of iron and half of fire; at the first blow all his limbs are loosened, at the second his bones are scattered, which are gathered together again by angels, and the third stroke reduces the body to dust and ashes, and it returns into the grave. This rack or torture they call Hibbût hakkeber, or the beating of the sepulchre, and pretend that all men in general must undergo it, except only those who die on the evening of the sabbath, or have dwelt in the land of Israel¹.

If it be objected to the Mohammedans that the cry of the persons under such examination has been never heard; or if they be asked how those can undergo it whose bodies are burnt or devoured by beasts or birds, or otherwise consumed without burial; they answer, that it is very possible notwithstanding, since men are not able to perceive what is transacted on the other side the grave; and that it is sufficient to restore to life any part of the body which is capable of understanding the questions put by the angels².

As to the soul, they hold that when it is separated from the body by the angel of death, who performs his office with ease and gentleness towards the good, and with violence towards the wicked³, it enters into that state which they call al Berzakh⁴, or the interval between death and the resurrection. If the departed person was a believer, they say two angels meet it, who convey it to heaven, that its place there may be assigned, according to its merit and degree. For they distinguish the souls of the faithful into three classes; the first of prophets, whose souls are admitted into paradise immediately; the second of martyrs, whose spirits, according to a tradition of Mohammed, rest in the crops of green birds which eat of the fruits and

¹ R. Elias, in Tishbi. See also Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. & Lexic. Talmud.

² V. Poc. ubi sup. bayim. f. 77.

³ Korân, c. 79. The Jews say the same, in Nishmat.

⁴ V. Kor. c. 23, and not. ib.

drink of the rivers of paradise ; and the third of other believers, concerning the state of whose souls before the resurrection there are various opinions. For, 1. Some say they stay near the sepulchres, with liberty however of going wherever they please ; which they confirm from Mohammed's manner of saluting them at their graves, and his affirming that the dead heard those salutations as well as the living, though they could not answer. Whence perhaps proceeded the custom of visiting the tombs of relations, so common among the Mohammedans¹. 2. Others imagine they are with Adam, in the lowest heaven ; and also support their opinion by the authority of their prophet, who gave out that in his return from the upper heavens in his pretended night journey, he saw there the souls of those who were destined to paradise on the right hand of Adam, and of those who were condemned to hell on his left². 3. Others fancy the souls of believers remain in the well Zemzem, and those of infidels in a certain well in the province of Hadramaut, called Borbût ; but this opinion is branded as heretical. 4. Others say they stay near the graves for seven days ; but that whither they go afterwards is uncertain. 5. Others that they are all in the trumpet, whose sound is to raise the dead. And, 6. Others that the souls of the good dwell in the forms of white birds, under the throne of God³. As to the condition of the souls of the wicked, besides the opinions that have been already mentioned, the more orthodox hold that they are offered by the angels to heaven, from whence being repulsed as stinking and filthy, they are offered to the earth, and being also refused a place there, are carried down to the seventh earth, and thrown into a dungeon, which they call Sajin, under a green rock, or according to a tradition of Mohammed, under the devil's jaw⁴,

¹ Poc. ubi sup. p. 247. ² Ib. p. 248. Consonant hereto are the Jewish notions of the souls of the just being on high, under the throne of glory. V. Ib. p. 156. ³ Ib. p. 250. ⁴ Al Beidâwi. V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 252.

to be there tormented, till they are called up to be joined again to their bodies.

Though some among the Mohammedans have thought that the resurrection will be merely spiritual, and no more than the returning of the soul to the place whence it first came (an opinion defended by Ebn Sina¹, and called by some the opinion of the philosophers²); and others, who allow man to consist of body only, that it will be merely corporeal; the received opinion is, that both body and soul will be raised, and their doctors argue strenuously for the possibility of the resurrection of the body, and dispute with great subtilty concerning the manner of it³. But Mohammed has taken care to preserve one part of the body, whatever becomes of the rest, to serve for a basis of the future edifice, or rather a leaven for the mass which is to be joined to it. For he taught, that a man's body was entirely consumed by the earth, except only the bone called al Ajb, which we name the os coccygis, or rump-bone; and that as it was the first formed in the human body, it will also remain uncorrupted till the last day, as a seed from whence the whole is to be renewed: and this he said would be effected by a forty days' rain which God should send, and which would cover the earth to the height of twelve cubits, and cause the bodies to sprout forth like plants⁴. Herein also is Mohammed beholden to the Jews; who say the same things of the bone Luz⁵, excepting that what he attributes to a great rain will be effected according to them by a dew, impregnating the dust of the earth.

The time of the resurrection the Mohammedans allow to be a perfect secret to all but God alone; the angel Gabriel himself acknowledging his ignorance in this point when Mohammed asked him about it.

¹ Or, as we corruptly name him, Avicenna. ubi sup. p. 254.
⁴ Idem, ib. p. 255, &c.

² Kenz al afrâr. ³ V. Poc.
⁵ Bereshit. rabbah, &c.

V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 117, &c.

However they say the approach of that day may be known from certain signs which are to precede it. These signs they distinguish into two sorts, the lesser, and the greater; which I shall briefly enumerate after Dr. Pocock¹.

The lesser signs are, 1. The decay of faith among men². 2. The advancing of the meanest persons to eminent dignity. 3. That a maid-servant shall become the mother of her mistress (or master); by which is meant either that towards the end of the world men shall be much given to sensuality, or that the Mohammedans shall then take many captives. 4. Tumults and seditions. 5. A war with the Turks. 6. Great distress in the world, so that a man when he passes by another's grave shall say, Would to God I were in his place! 7. That the provinces of Irâk and Syria shall refuse to pay their tribute. And, 8. That the buildings of Medina shall reach to Ahâb, or Yahâb.

The greater signs are,

1. The sun's rising in the west. Which some have imagined it originally did³.

2. The appearance of the beast, which shall rise out of the earth, in the temple of Mecca, or on mount Safâ, or in the territory of Tâyef, or some other place. This beast they say is to be sixty cubits high; though others, not satisfied with so small a size, will have her reach to the clouds and to heaven, when her head only is out; and that she will appear for three days, but show only a third part of her body. They describe this monster, as to her form, to be a compound of various species; having the head of a bull, the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a stag, the neck of an ostrich, the breast of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, the legs of a camel, and the voice of an ass. Some say this beast

¹ Bereshit. rabbah, &c. V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 258, &c.

² See Luke, xviii. 8.

³ See Whiston's Theory of the Earth, Book 2, p. 98, &c.

is to appear three times in several places, and that she will bring with her the rod of Moses, and the seal of Solomon; and being so swift that none can overtake or escape her, will with the first strike all the believers on the face, and mark them with the word Mûmen, i. e. *believer*; and with the latter will mark the unbelievers on the face likewise, with the word Câfer, i. e. *infidel*, that every person may be known for what he really is. They add that the same beast is to demonstrate the vanity of all religions except Islâm, and to speak Arabic. All this stuff seems to be the result of a confused idea of the beast in the Revelations¹.

3. War with the Greeks, and the taking of Constantinople by seventy thousand of the posterity of Isaac, who shall not win that city by force of arms, but the walls shall fall down while they cry out, *There is no god but God: God is most great!* As they are dividing the spoil, news will come to them of the appearance of Antichrist; whereupon they shall leave all, and return back.

4. The coming of Antichrist, whom the Mohammedans call al Masîh al Dajjâl, i. e. the *false* or *lying Christ*, and simply al Dajjâl. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters C. F. R. signifying Câfer, or *infidel*. They say that the Jews give him the name of Messiah Ben David, and pretend he is to come in the last days, and to be lord both of land and sea, and that he will restore the kingdom to them. According to the traditions of Mohammed, he is to appear first between Irâk and Syria, or according to others, in the province of Khorasân; they add that he is to ride on an ass; that he will be followed by seventy thousand Jews of Ispahân, and continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal in length to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and

¹ Chap. xiii.

the rest will be common days ; that he is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Mecca or Medina, which are to be guarded by angels ; and that at length he will be slain by Jesus, who is to encounter him at the gate of Lud. It is said that Mohammed foretold several Antichrists, to the number of about thirty ; but one of greater note than the rest.

5. The descent of Jesus on earth. They pretend that he is to descend near the white tower to the east of Damascus, when the people are returned from the taking of Constantinople ; that he is to embrace the Mohammedan religion, marry a wife, get children, kill Antichrist, and at length die after forty years', or according to others twenty-four years'¹, continuance on earth. Under him they say there will be great security and plenty in the world, all hatred and malice being laid aside ; when lions and camels, bears and sheep, shall live in peace, and a child shall play with serpents unhurt².

6. War with the Jews ; of whom the Mohammedans are to make a prodigious slaughter, the very trees and stones discovering such of them as hide themselves, except only the tree called Gharkad, which is the tree of the Jews.

7. The eruption of Gog and Magog, or, as they are called in the east, Yâjûj and Mâjûj ; of whom many things are related in the Korân³, and the traditions of Mohammed. These barbarians, they tell us, having passed the lake of Tiberias, which the vanguard of their vast army will drink dry, will come to Jerusalem, and there greatly distress Jesus and his companions ; till at his request God will destroy them, and fill the earth with their carcasses, which after some time God will send birds to carry away, at the prayers of Jesus and his followers. Their bows, arrows, and quivers the Moslems will burn for seven years together⁴ ; and at last God

¹ Al Thalabi, in Kor. c. 4. and 21.

² See Isaiah xi. 6, &c.

³ Chap. 18,

⁴ See Ezek. xxxix. 9. Revel. xx. 8.

will send a rain to cleanse the earth, and to make it fertile.

8. A smoke, which shall fill the whole earth ¹.

9. An eclipse of the moon. Mohammed is reported to have said, that there would be three eclipses before the last hour; one to be seen in the east, another in the west, and the third in Arabia.

10. The returning of the Arabs to the worship of Allât and al Uzza, and the rest of their ancient idols; after the decease of every one in whose heart there was faith equal to a grain of mustard seed, none but the very worst of men being left alive. For God, they say, will send a cold odoriferous wind, blowing from Syria Damascena, which shall sweep away the souls of all the faithful, and the Korân itself, so that men will remain in the grossest ignorance for an hundred years.

11. The discovery of a vast heap of gold and silver by the retreating of the Euphrates, which will be the destruction of many.

12. The demolition of the Caaba, or temple of Mecca, by the Ethiopians ².

13. The speaking of beasts and inanimate things.

14. The breaking out of fire in the province of Hejâz; or, according to others, in Yaman.

15. The appearance of a man of the descendants of Kahtân, who shall drive men before him with his staff.

16. The coming of the Mohdi, or *director*; concerning whom Mohammed prophesied, that the world should not have an end till one of his own family should govern the Arabians, whose name should be the same with his own name, and whose father's name should also be the same with his father's name; and who should fill the earth with righteousness. This person the Shiites believe to be now alive, and concealed in some secret place,

¹ See Korân, c. 44, and the notes thereon. Compare also Joel ii. 30, and Revel. ix. 2.

² See after, in this section.

till the time of his manifestation; for they suppose him to be no other than the last of the twelve Imâms, named Mohammed Abu'lkasem, as their prophet was, and the son of Hassan al Askeri, the eleventh of that succession. He was born at Ser-manrai in the 255th year of the Hejra¹. From this tradition, it is to be presumed, an opinion pretty current among the Christians took its rise, that the Mohammedans are in expectation of their prophet's return.

17. A wind which shall sweep away the souls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts, as has been mentioned under the tenth sign.

These are the greater signs, which, according to their doctrine, are to precede the resurrection, but still leave the hour of it uncertain: for the immediate sign of its being come will be the first blast of the trumpet; which they believe will be sounded three times. The first they call the *blast of consternation*; at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom God shall please to exempt from it. The effects attributed to this first sound of the trumpet are very wonderful: for they say, the earth will be shaken, and not only all buildings, but the very mountains, levelled; that the heavens shall melt, the sun be darkened, the stars fall, on the death of the angels, who, as some imagine, hold them suspended between heaven and earth, and the sea shall be troubled and dried up, or, according to others, turned into flames, the sun, moon, and stars being thrown into it: the Korân, to express the greatness of the terror of that day, adds that women who give suck shall abandon the care of their infants, and even the she-camels which have gone ten months with young (a most valuable part of the substance of that nation) shall be utterly neglected. A farther

¹ V. D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient. p. 531.

effect of this blast will be that concourse of beasts mentioned in the Korân¹, though some doubt whether it be to precede the resurrection or not. They who suppose it will precede, think that all kinds of animals, forgetting their respective natural fierceness and timidity, will run together into one place, being terrified by the sound of the trumpet and the sudden shock of nature.

The Mohammedans believe that this first blast will be followed by a second, which they call the *blast of exanimation*²; when all creatures both in heaven and earth shall die or be annihilated, except those which God shall please to exempt from the common fate³; and this, they say, shall happen in the twinkling of an eye, nay in an instant; nothing surviving except God alone, with paradise and hell, and the inhabitants of those two places, and the throne of glory⁴. The last who shall die will be the angel of death.

Forty years after this will be heard the *blast of resurrection*, when the trumpet shall be sounded the third time by Israfil, who, together with Gabriel and Michael, will be previously restored to life, and standing on the rock of the temple of Jerusalem⁵, shall at God's command call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other dispersed parts of the bodies, and the very hairs, to judgment. This angel having, by the divine order, set the trumpet to his mouth, and called together all the souls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, from whence, on his giving the last sound, at the command of God, they will fly forth like bees, and fill

¹ Chap. 81.

² Several writers however make no distinction between this blast and the first, supposing the trumpet will sound but twice. See the notes to Kor. chap. 39.

³ Kor. chap. 39.

⁴ To these some add the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the *preserved Table*, wherein the decrees of God are registered, and the pen wherewith they are written; all which things the Mohammedans imagine were created before the world.

⁵ In this circumstance the Mohammedans follow the Jews, who also agree that the trumpet will sound more than once. V. R. Bechai in *Biur hattoral*, and *Otiot shel R. Akiba*.

the whole space between heaven and earth, and then repair to their respective bodies, which the opening earth will suffer to arise; and the first who shall so arise, according to a tradition of Mohammed, will be himself. For this birth the earth will be prepared by the rain abovementioned, which is to fall continually for forty years¹, and will resemble the seed of a man, and be supplied from the water under the throne of God, which is called *living water*; by the efficacy and virtue of which the dead bodies shall spring forth from their graves, as they did in their mother's womb, or as corn sprouts forth by common rain, till they become perfect; after which, breath will be breathed into them, and they will sleep in their sepulchres till they are raised to life at the last trump.

As to the length of the day of judgment, the Korân in one place tells us that it will last one thousand years², and in another fifty thousand³. To reconcile this apparent contradiction, the commentators use several shifts: some saying, they know not what measure of time God intends in those passages; others, that these forms of speaking are figurative, and not to be strictly taken, and were designed only to express the terribleness of that day, it being usual for the Arabs to describe what they dislike as of long continuance, and what they like as the contrary; and others suppose them spoken only in reference to the difficulty of the business of the day, which if God should commit to any of his creatures, they would not be able to go through it in so many thousand years; to omit some other opinions which we may take notice of elsewhere.

Having said so much in relation to the time of the resurrection, let us now see who are to be raised from the dead, in what manner and form they shall

¹ Elsewhere (see before, p. 108.) this rain is said to continue only forty days; but it rather seems that it is to fall during the whole interval between the second and third blasts. ² Kor. chap. 32. ³ Ib. chap. 70.

be raised, in what place they shall be assembled, and to what end; according to the doctrine of the Mohammedans.

That the resurrection will be general, and extend to all creatures, both angels, genii, men and animals, is the received opinion, which they support by the authority of the Korân; though that passage which is produced to prove the resurrection of brutes be otherwise interpreted by some ¹.

The manner of their resurrection will be very different. Those who are destined to be partakers of eternal happiness will arise in honour and security; and those who are doomed to misery, in disgrace and under dismal apprehensions. As to mankind, they say, that they will be raised perfect in all their parts and members, and in the same state as they came out of their mothers' wombs, that is, bare-footed, naked, and uncircumcised; which circumstances when Mohammed was telling his wife Ayesha, she, fearing the rules of modesty might be thereby violated, objected that it would be very indecent for men and women to look upon one another in that condition: but he answered her, that the business of the day would be too weighty and serious to allow them the making use of that liberty. Others however allege the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion as to their nakedness, and pretend he asserted that the dead should arise dressed in the same clothes in which they died ²; unless we interpret these words, as some do, not so much of the outward dress of the body, as the inward clothing of the mind; and understand thereby that every person will rise again in the same state as to his faith or infidelity, his knowledge or ignorance, his good or bad works. Mohammed is also said to have farther

¹ See the notes to Kor. chap. 81. and the preceding page.

² In this also they follow their old guides, the Jews; who say that if the wheat which is sown naked rise clothed, it is no wonder the pious who are buried in their clothes should rise with them. Gemar. Sanhedr. fol. 90.

taught, by another tradition, that mankind shall be assembled at the last day, distinguished into three classes. The first, of those who go on foot; the second, of those who ride; and the third, of those who creep groveling with their faces on the ground. The first class is to consist of those believers whose good works have been few; the second of those who are in greater honour with God, and more acceptable to him; whence Ali affirmed that the pious, when they come forth from their sepulchres, shall find ready prepared for them white winged camels, with saddles of gold; wherein are to be observed some footsteps of the doctrine of the ancient Arabians¹; and the third class, they say, will be composed of the infidels, whom God shall cause to make their appearance with their faces on the earth, blind, dumb and deaf. But the ungodly will not be thus only distinguished; for, according to a tradition of the prophet, there will be ten sorts of wicked men on whom God shall on that day fix certain discretory marks. The first will appear in the form of apes; these are the professors of Zendicism: the second in that of swine; these are they who have been greedy of filthy lucre, and enriched themselves by public oppression: the third will be brought with their heads reversed, and their feet distorted; these are the usurers: the fourth will wander about blind; these are unjust judges: the fifth will be deaf, dumb, and blind, understanding nothing; these are they who glory in their own works: the sixth will gnaw their tongues, which will hang down upon their breasts, corrupted blood flowing from their mouths like spittle, so that every body shall detest them; these are the learned men and doctors, whose actions contradict their sayings: the seventh will have their hands and feet cut off; these are they who have injured their neighbours: the eighth will

be fixed to the trunks of palm-trees or stakes of wood; these are the false accusers and informers: the ninth will stink worse than a corrupted corpse; these are they who have indulged their passions and voluptuous appetites, but refused God such part of their wealth as was due to him: the tenth will be clothed with garments daubed with pitch; and these are the proud, the vainglorious, and the arrogant.

As to the place where they are to be assembled to judgment, the Korân and the traditions of Mohammed agree that it will be on the earth, but in what part of the earth it is not agreed. Some say their prophet mentioned Syria for the place; others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any signs of buildings. Al Ghazâli imagines it will be a second earth, which he supposes to be of silver; and others an earth which has nothing in common with ours, but the name; having, it is possible, heard something of the new heavens and new earth mentioned in scripture: whence the Korân has this expression, “on the day wherein the earth shall be changed into another earth¹.”

The end of the resurrection the Mohammedans declare to be, that they who are so raised may give an account of their actions, and receive the reward thereof. And they believe that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals also² shall be judged on this great day; when the unarmed cattle shall take vengeance on the horned, till entire satisfaction shall be given to the injured³.

As to mankind, they hold that when they are all

¹ Chap. 14.

² Kor. chap. 6. V. Maimonid. More Nev. part 3. c. 17.

³ This opinion the learned Greaves supposed to have taken its rise from the following words of Ezekiel, wrongly understood; “And as for ye, O my flock, thus saith the Lord God, Behold I judge between cattle and cattle, between the rams and the he-goats.—Behold I, even I, will judge between the fat cattle, and between the lean cattle; because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder, and pushed all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered them abroad; therefore will I save my flock, and they shall no more be a prey, and I will judge between cattle and cattle, &c.” Ezek. xxxiv. 17, &c. 20, 21, 22. Much might be said concerning brutes deserving future reward and punishment. See Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Rorarius, Rem. D. &c.

assembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpose: and this attendance some say is to last forty years, others seventy, others three hundred, nay some say no less than fifty thousand years, each of them vouching their prophet's authority. During this space they will stand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence, and are to suffer grievous torments, both the just and the unjust, though with manifest difference. For the limbs of the former, particularly those parts which they used to wash in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, shall shine gloriously, and their sufferings shall be light in comparison, and shall last no longer than the time necessary to say the appointed prayers; but the latter will have their faces obscured with blackness, and disfigured with all the marks of sorrow and deformity. What will then occasion not the least of their pain, is a wonderful and incredible sweat, which will even stop their mouths, and in which they will be immersed in various degrees according to their demerits, some to the ankles only, some to the knees, some to the middle, some so high as their mouth, and others as their ears. And this sweat, they say, will be provoked not only by that vast concourse of all sorts of creatures mutually pressing and treading on one another's feet, but by the near and unusual approach of the sun, which will be then no farther from them than the distance of a mile, or (as some translate the word, the signification of which is ambiguous), than the length of a bodkin. So that their skulls will boil like a pot¹, and they will be all bathed in sweat. From this inconvenience, however, the good will be protected by the shade of God's throne; but the wicked will be so miserably tormented with it,

¹ Al Ghazâli.

and also with hunger and thirst, and a stifling air, that they will cry out, *Lord, deliver us from this anguish, though thou send us into hell-fire*¹. What they fable of the extraordinary heat of the sun on this occasion, the Mohammedans certainly borrowed from the Jews, who say that, for the punishment of the wicked on the last day, that planet shall be drawn forth from its *sheath*, in which it is now put up, lest it should destroy all things by its excessive heat².

When those who have risen shall have waited the limited time, the Mohammedans believe God will at length appear to judge them; Mohammed undertaking the office of intercessor, after it shall have been declined by Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Jesus, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. They say that on this solemn occasion God will come in the clouds; surrounded by angels, and will produce the books wherein the actions of every person are recorded by their guardian angels³, and will command the prophets to bear witness against those to whom they have been respectively sent. Then every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions, uttered and done by him in this life; not as if God needed any information in those respects, but to oblige the person to make public confession and acknowledgment of God's justice. The particulars of which they shall give an account, as Mohammed himself enumerated them, are; of their time, how they spent it; of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it; of their bodies, wherein they exercised them; of their knowledge and learning, what use they made of them. It is said however that Mohammed has affirmed that no less than seventy thousand of his followers should be permitted to enter paradise without any previous examination; which seems to be contradictory to what is said above. To the

¹ Al Ghazâli.
before, p. 99.

² V. Pocock, Not. in Port. Mosis, p. 277.

³ See

questions we have mentioned each person shall answer, and make his defence in the best manner he can, endeavouring to excuse himself by casting the blame of his evil deeds on others; so that a dispute shall arise even between the soul and the body, to which of them their guilt ought to be imputed: the soul saying, "O Lord, my body I received from thee; for thou createdst me without a hand to lay hold with, a foot to walk with, an eye to see with, or an understanding to apprehend with, till I came and entered into this body; therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me." The body on the other side will make this apology, "O Lord, thou createdst me like a stock of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold with, nor foot that I could walk with, till this soul, like a ray of light, entered into me, and my tongue began to speak, my eye to see, and my foot to walk; therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me." But God will propound to them the following parable of the blind man and the lame man, which, as well as the preceding dispute, was borrowed by the Mohammedans from the Jews¹. A certain king having a pleasant garden, in which were ripe fruits, set two persons to keep it, one of whom was blind, and the other lame, the former not being able to see the fruit, nor the latter to gather it; the lame man, however, seeing the fruit, persuaded the blind man to take him upon his shoulders; and by that means he easily gathered the fruit, which they divided between them. The lord of the garden coming some time after, and inquiring after his fruit, each began to excuse himself; the blind man said he had no eyes to see with; and the lame man that he had no feet to approach the trees. But the king ordering the lame man to be set on the blind, passed sentence on and punished them both. And in the same manner will God deal with the body

¹ Gemara, Sanhedr. c. 11. R. Jos. Albo, Serm. IV. c. 33. See also Epiphani, in Ancorat. Sect. 89.

and the soul. As these apologies will not avail on that day, so will it also be in vain for any one to deny his evil actions, since men and angels and his own members, nay the very earth itself, will be ready to bear witness against him.

Though the Mohammedans assign so long a space for the attendance of the resuscitated before their trial, yet they tell us the trial itself will be over in much less time, and, according to an expression of Mohammed, familiar enough to the Arabs, will last no longer than while one may milk an ewe, or than the space between the two milkings of a she-camel¹. Some, explaining those words so frequently used in the Korân, "God will be swift in taking an account," say that he will judge all creatures in the space of half a day, and others that it will be done in less time than the twinkling of an eye².

At this examination they also believe that each person will have the book wherein all the actions of his life are written delivered to him; which books the righteous will receive in their right hand, and read with great pleasure and satisfaction; but the ungodly will be obliged to take them against their wills in their left³, which will be bound behind their backs, their right hand being tied up to their necks⁴.

To show the exact justice which will be observed on this great day of trial, the next thing they describe is the *balance*, wherein all things shall be weighed. They say it will be held by Gabriel, and that it is of so vast a size, that its two scales, one of which hangs over paradise, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. Though some are willing to understand what is said in the Korân concerning this balance

¹ The Arabs use, after they have drawn some milk from the camel, to wait awhile, and let her young one suck a little, that she may give down her milk more plentifully at the second milking.

² Pocock, Not. in Port. Mosis, p. 278—282. See also Kor. c. 2. p. 34.

³ Kor. c. 17, 18, 69, and 84.

⁴ Jallalo'ddin.

allegorically, and only as a figurative representation of God's equity, yet the more ancient and orthodox opinion is that it is to be taken literally; and since words and actions, being mere accidents, are not capable of being themselves weighed, they say that the books wherein they are written will be thrown into the scales, and according as those wherein the good or the evil actions are recorded shall preponderate, sentence will be given; those whose balances laden with their good works shall be heavy will be saved, but those whose balances are light will be condemned¹. Nor will any one have cause to complain that God suffers any good action to pass unrewarded, because the wicked for the good they do have their reward in this life, and therefore can expect no favour in the next.

The old Jewish writers make mention as well of the books to be produced at the last day, wherein men's actions are registered², as of the balance wherein they shall be weighed³; and the scripture itself seems to have given the first notion of both⁴. But what the Persian Magi believe of the balance comes nearest to the Mohammedan opinion. They hold that on the day of judgment two angels, named Mihr and Sorûsh, will stand on the bridge we shall describe by and by, to examine every person as he passes; that the former, who represents the divine mercy, will hold a balance in his hand, to weigh the actions of men; that according to the report he shall make thereof to God, sentence will be pronounced, and those whose good works are found more ponderous, if they turn the scale but by the weight of a hair, will be permitted to pass forward to paradise; but those whose good works shall be found light will be by the other angel, who represents God's justice, precipitated from the bridge into hell⁵.

¹ Kor. c. 23, 7, &c.
Sanhedr. f. 91, &c.
&c. and Dan. v. 27.

² Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, f. 153. c. 3. ³ Gemar.

⁴ Exod. xxxii. 32, 33. Dan. vii. 10. Revel. xx. 12,

⁵ Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 245, 401, &c.

This examination being past, and every one's works weighed in a just balance, that mutual retaliation will follow, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have satisfaction made them for the injuries which they have suffered. And since there will then be no other way of returning like for like, the manner of giving this satisfaction will be, by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to those of him who suffered it. Which being done, if the angels (by whose ministry this is to be performed) say, "Lord, we have given to every one his due; and there remaineth of this person's good works so much as equalleth the weight of an ant," God will of his mercy cause it to be doubled unto him, that he may be admitted into paradise; but if on the contrary his good works be exhausted, and there remain evil works only, and there be any who have not yet received satisfaction from him, God will order that an equal weight of their sins be added unto his, that he may be punished for them in their stead, and he will be sent to hell laden with both. This will be the method of God's dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they shall have likewise taken vengeance of one another, as we have mentioned above, he will command them to be changed into dust¹; wicked men being reserved to more grievous punishment: so that they shall cry out, on hearing this sentence passed on the brutes, "Would to God that we were dust also!" As to the genii, many Mohammedans are of opinion that such of them as are true believers will undergo the same fate as the irrational animals, and have no other reward than the favour of being converted into dust; and for this they quote the authority of their prophet. But this, however, is judged not so very

¹ Yet they say the dog of the seven sleepers, and Ezra's ass, which was raised to life, will, by peculiar favour, be admitted into paradise. See Kor. c. 18, and c. 3. p. 45.

reasonable, since the genii, being capable of putting themselves in the state of believers as well as men, must consequently deserve, as it seems, to be rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punished for their infidelity. Wherefore some entertain a more favourable opinion, and assign the believing genii a place near the confines of paradise, where they will enjoy sufficient felicity, though they be not admitted into that delightful mansion. But the unbelieving genii, it is universally agreed, will be punished eternally, and be thrown into hell with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to observe, that under the denomination of unbelieving genii, the Mohammedans comprehend also the devil and his companions ¹.

The trials being over and the assembly dissolved, the Mohammedans hold, that those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the right hand way, and those who are destined to hell-fire will take the left, but both of them must first pass the bridge, called in Arabic, *al Sirât*, which they say is laid over the midst of hell, and describe to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword; so that it seems very difficult to conceive how any one shall be able to stand upon it: for which reason most of the sect of the *Môtazalites* reject it as a fable, though the orthodox think it a sufficient proof of the truth of this article, that it was seriously affirmed by him who never asserted a falsehood, meaning their prophet; who, to add to the difficulty of the passage, has likewise declared that this bridge is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns; which will however be no impediment to the good, for they shall pass with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning, or the wind, Mohammed and his Moslems leading the way; whereas the wicked, what with the slipperiness and extreme narrowness of the path,

¹ V. Korân, c. 18.

the entangling of the thorns, and the extinction of the light which directed the former to paradise, will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them ¹.

This circumstance Mohammed seems also to have borrowed from the Magians, who teach that on the last day all mankind will be obliged to pass a bridge which they call Pûl Chînavad, or Chînavar, that is, *the strait bridge*, leading directly into the other world; on the midst of which they suppose the angels, appointed by God to perform that office, will stand, who will require of every one a strict account of his actions, and weigh them in the manner we have already mentioned ². It is true the Jews speak likewise of the bridge of hell, which they say is no broader than a thread; but then they do not tell us that any shall be obliged to pass it, except the idolaters, who will fall thence into perdition ³.

As to the punishment of the wicked, the Mohammedans are taught that hell is divided into seven stories, or apartments, one below another, designed for the reception of as many distinct classes of the damned ⁴. The first, which they call Jehennam, they say will be the receptacle of those who acknowledged one God, that is, the wicked Mohammedans, who after having there been punished according to their demerits, will at length be released. The second, named Ladhâ, they assign to the Jews; the third, named al Hotama, to the Christians; the fourth, named al Sâir, to the Sabians; the fifth, named Sakar, to the Magians; the sixth, named al Jahim, to the idolaters; and the seventh, which is the lowest and worst of all, and is called al Hâwiyat, to the hypocrites, or those who outwardly professed some religion, but in their hearts were of none ⁵. Over

¹ Pocock, ubi sup. p. 282—289. ² Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 245, 402, &c.

³ Midrash, Yalkut Reubeni, § Gehinnom.

⁴ Kor. c. 15.

⁵ Others

fill these apartments with different company. Some place in the second, the idolaters; in the third, Gog and Magog, &c.; in the fourth, the devils; in the fifth, those who neglect alms and prayers; and crowd the Jews, Christians, and

each of these apartments they believe there will be set a guard of angels¹, nineteen in number²; to whom the damned will confess the just judgment of God, and beg them to intercede with him for some alleviation of their pain, or that they may be delivered by being annihilated³.

Mohammed has, in his Korân and traditions, been very exact in describing the various torments of hell, which, according to him, the wicked will suffer both from intense heat and excessive cold. We shall however enter into no detail of them here, but only observe that the degrees of these pains will also vary, in proportion to the crimes of the sufferer, and the apartment he is condemned to; and that he who is punished the most lightly of all will be shod with shoes of fire, the fervour of which will cause his skull to boil like a caldron. The condition of these unhappy wretches, as the same prophet teaches, cannot be properly called either life or death; and their misery will be greatly increased by their despair of being ever delivered from that place, since, according to that frequent expression in the Korân, “they must remain therein for ever.” It must be remarked, however, that the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation, for the Moslems, or those who have embraced the true religion, and have been guilty of heinous sins, will be delivered thence after they shall have expiated their crimes by their sufferings. The contrary of either of these opinions is reckoned heretical; for it is the constant orthodox doctrine of the Mohammedans that no unbeliever or idolater will ever be released, nor any person who in his lifetime professed and believed the unity of God be

Magians together in the sixth. Some again will have the first to be prepared for the Dahrians, or those who deny the creation, and believe the eternity of the world; the second, for the Dualists, or Manichees, and the idolatrous Arabs; the third, for the Bramins of the Indies; the fourth, for the Jews; the fifth, for the Christians; and the sixth, for the Magians. But all agree in assigning the seventh to the hypocrites. V. Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 412. D’Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 368, &c.

¹ Kor. chap. 40, 43, 74, &c.

² Ib. c. 74.

³ Ib. c. 40, 43.

condemned to eternal punishment. As to the time and manner of the deliverance of those believers whose evil actions shall outweigh their good, there is a tradition of Mohammed that they shall be released after they shall have been scorched and their skins burnt black, and shall afterwards be admitted into paradise; and when the inhabitants of that place shall, in contempt, call them *infernals*, God will, on their prayers, take from them that opprobrious appellation. Others say he taught that while they continue in hell they shall be deprived of life, or (as his words are otherwise interpreted) be cast into a most profound sleep, that they may be the less sensible of their torments; and that they shall afterwards be received into paradise, and there revive on their being washed with the *water of life*; though some suppose they will be restored to life before they come forth from their place of punishment, that at their bidding farewell to their pains, they may have some little taste of them. The time which these believers shall be detained there, according to a tradition handed down from their prophet, will not be less than nine hundred years, nor more than seven thousand. And as to the manner of their delivery, they say that they shall be distinguished by the marks of prostration on those parts of their bodies with which they used to touch the ground in prayer, and over which the fire will therefore have no power; and that being known by this characteristic, they will be released by the mercy of God, at the intercession of Mohammed and the blessed; whereupon those who shall have been dead will be restored to life, as has been said; and those whose bodies shall have contracted any sootiness or filth from the flames and smoke of hell will be immersed in one of the rivers of paradise, called the *river of life*, which will wash them whiter than pearls¹.

¹ Poc. Not. in Port. Mosis, p. 289—291.

For most of these circumstances relating to hell and the state of the damned, Mohammed was likewise in all probability indebted to the Jews, and in part to the Magians; both of whom agree in making seven distinct apartments in hell¹, though they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of these infernal apartments, and suppose he will intercede for the miserable wretches there imprisoned, who will openly acknowledge the justice of God in their condemnation². They also teach that the wicked will suffer a diversity of punishments, and that by intolerable cold³ as well as heat, and that their faces shall become black⁴; and believe those of their own religion shall also be punished in hell hereafter, according to their crimes, (for they hold that few or none will be found so exactly righteous as to deserve no punishment at all), but will soon be delivered thence, when they shall be sufficiently purged from their sins, by their father Abraham, or at the intercession of him or some other of the prophets⁵. The Magians allow but one angel to preside over all the seven hells, who is named by them Vanánd Yezád, and, as they teach, assigns punishments proportionate to each person's crimes, restraining also the tyranny and excessive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himself, torment the damned beyond their sentence⁶. Those of this religion do also mention and describe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be punished in the next life; among which though they reckon extreme cold to be one, yet they do not admit fire, out of respect, as it seems, to that element, which they take to be the representation of the divine nature; and therefore they rather choose to describe

¹ Nishmat hayim, f. 32. Gemar. in Arubin, f. 19. Zohar. ad Exod. xxvi. 2, &c. and Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 245. ² Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, part 11, f. 116.

³ Zohar, ad Exod. xix.

⁴ Yalkut Shemuni, ubi

sup. f. 86. ⁵ Nishmat hayim, f. 82. Gemar. Arubin, f. 19. V. Kor. c. 2, p. 15, and 3, p. 54, and notes there.

⁶ Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 182.

the damned souls as suffering by other kinds of punishments: such as an intolerable stink, the stinging and biting of serpents and wild beasts, the cutting and tearing of the flesh by the devils, excessive hunger and thirst, and the like ¹.

Before we proceed to a description of the Mohammedan paradise, we must not forget to say something of the wall or partition which they imagine to be between that place and hell, and seems to be copied from the great gulf of separation mentioned in scripture ². They call it al Orf, and more frequently in the plural, al Arâf, a word derived from the verb *arafa*, which signifies to *distinguish* between things, or to *part* them; though some commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name, because, say they, those who stand on this partition will *know* and *distinguish* the blessed from the damned, by their respective marks or characteristics ³: and others say the word properly intends any thing that is *high raised* or *elevated*, as such a wall of separation must be supposed to be ⁴. The Mohammedan writers greatly differ as to the persons who are to be found on al Arâf. Some imagine it to be a sort of *limbo*, for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for sanctity, among whom they say there will be also angels in the form of men. Others place here such whose good and evil works are so equal that they exactly counterpoise each other, and therefore deserve neither reward nor punishment; and these, they say, will on the last day be admitted into paradise, after they shall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit, and will make the scale of their good works to over-balance. Others suppose this intermediate space will be a receptacle for those who have gone to war,

¹ V. Eundem, ib. p. 399, &c.
V. Kor. c. 7.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

² Luke xvi. 26.

³ Jallalo'ddin,

without their parents' leave, and therein suffered martyrdom ; being excluded paradise for their disobedience, and escaping hell because they are martyrs. The breadth of this partition wall cannot be supposed to be exceeding great, since not only those who shall stand thereon will hold conference with the inhabitants both of paradise and of hell, but the blessed and the damned themselves will also be able to talk to one another ¹.

If Mohammed did not take his notions of the partition we have been describing from scripture, he must at least have borrowed it at second-hand from the Jews, who mention a thin wall dividing paradise from hell ².

The righteous, as the Mohammedans are taught to believe, having surmounted the difficulties, and passed the sharp bridge above-mentioned, before they enter paradise will be refreshed by drinking at the *pond* of their prophet, who describes it to be an exact square, of a month's journey in compass ; its water, which is supplied by two pipes from al Cawthar, one of the rivers of paradise, being whiter than milk or silver, and more odoriferous than musk, with as many cups set around it as there are stars in the firmament ; of which water whoever drinks will thirst no more for ever ³. This is the first taste which the blessed will have of their future and now near approaching felicity.

Though paradise be so very frequently mentioned in the Korân, yet it is a dispute among the Mohammedans whether it be already created, or be to be created hereafter ; the Môtazalites and some other sectaries asserting that there is not at present any such place in nature, and that the paradise which the righteous will inhabit in the next life will be different from that from which Adam was expelled. How-

¹ Korân, ubi sup. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 121, &c.
Yalkut Sioni, f. 11.

³ Al Ghazâlî.

² Midrash,

ever the orthodox profess the contrary, maintaining that it was created even before the world, and describe it, from their prophet's traditions, in the following manner.

They say it is situate above the seven heavens (or in the seventh heaven), and next under the throne of God; and to express the amenity of the place tell us, that the earth of it is of the finest wheat flour, or of the purest musk; or, as others will have it, of saffron; that its stones are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and silver, and that the trunks of all its trees are of gold; among which the most remarkable is the tree called Tûba, or the tree of *happiness*. Concerning this tree they fable that it stands in the palace of Mohammed, though a branch of it will reach to the house of every true believer¹; that it will be loaden with pomegranates, grapes, dates, and other fruits of surprising bigness, and of tastes unknown to mortals. So that if a man desire to eat of any particular kind of fruit, it will immediately be presented him, or if he choose flesh, birds ready dressed will be set before him, according to his wish. They add, that the boughs of this tree will spontaneously bend down to the hand of the person who would gather of its fruits, and that it will supply the blessed not only with food, but also with silken garments, and beasts to ride on ready saddled and bridled, and adorned with rich trappings, which will burst forth from its fruits; and that this tree is so large, that a person mounted on the fleetest horse would not be able to gallop from one end of its shade to the other in a hundred years².

As plenty of water is one of the greatest additions to the pleasantness of any place, the Korân often speaks of the rivers of paradise as a principal ornament thereof: some of these rivers, they say, flow

¹ Yahya, in Kor. c. 13.

² Jallalo'ddin, ib.

with water, some with milk, some with wine, and others with honey; all taking their rise from the root of the tree Tûba; two of which rivers, named al Cawthar and the *river of life*, we have already mentioned. And, lest these should not be sufficient, we are told this garden is also watered by a great number of lesser springs and fountains, whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphire, their beds of musk, and their sides of saffron; the most remarkable among them being Salsabîl and Tasnîm.

But all these glories will be eclipsed by the resplendent and ravishing girls of paradise, called, from their large black eyes. Hûr al oyûn, the enjoyment of whose company will be a principal felicity of the faithful. These, they say, are created, not of clay, as mortal women are, but of pure musk; being, as their prophet often affirms in his Korân, free from all natural impurities, defects, and inconveniences incident to the sex, of the strictest modesty, and secluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls, so large, that, as some traditions have it, one of them will be no less than four parasangs (or, as others say, sixty miles) long, and as many broad.

The name which the Mohammedans usually give to this happy mansion is al Jannat, or *the garden*; and sometimes they call it, with an addition, Jannat al Ferdaws, *the garden of paradise*, Jannat Aden, *the garden of Eden* (though they generally interpret the word Eden, not according to its acceptation in Hebrew, but according to its meaning in their own tongue, wherein it signifies a *settled* or *perpetual habitation*), Jannat al Máwa, *the garden of abode*, Jannat al Naïm, *the garden of pleasure*, and the like; by which several appellations some understand so many different gardens, or at least places of different degrees of felicity (for they reckon no less than a hundred such in all), the very meanest whereof will afford its inhabitants so many pleasures

and delights, that one would conclude they must even sink under them, had not Mohammed declared, that in order to qualify the blessed for a full enjoyment of them, God will give to every one the abilities of a hundred men.

We have already described Mohammed's pond, whereof the righteous are to drink before their admission into this delicious seat ; besides which some authors¹ mention two fountains, springing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradise, and say that the blessed will also drink of one of them, to purge their bodies and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and will wash themselves in the other. When they are arrived at the gate itself, each person will there be met and saluted by the beautiful youths appointed to serve and wait upon him, one of them running before, to carry the news of his arrival to the wives destined for him ; and also by two angels, bearing the presents sent him by God, one of whom will invest him with a garment of paradise, and the other will put a ring on each of his fingers, with inscriptions on them alluding to the happiness of his condition. By which of the eight gates (for so many they suppose paradise to have) they are respectively to enter, is not worth inquiry ; but it must be observed that Mohammed has declared that no person's good works will gain him admittance, and that even himself shall be saved, not by his merits, but merely by the mercy of God. It is, however, the constant doctrine of the Korân, that the felicity of each person will be proportioned to his deserts, and that there will be abodes of different degrees of happiness ; the most eminent degree being reserved for the prophets, the second for the doctors and teachers of God's worship, the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the rest of the righteous, according to their several merits. There will also some distinction be made in

¹ Al Ghazâli, *Kenz al Aîrâr*.

respect to the time of their admission ; Mohammed (to whom, if you will believe him, the gates will first be opened) having affirmed, that the poor will enter paradise five hundred years before the rich : nor is this the only privilege which they will enjoy in the next life ; since the same prophet has also declared, that when he took a view of paradise, he saw the majority of its inhabitants to be the poor, and when he looked down into hell, he saw the greater part of the wretches confined there to be women.

For the first entertainment of the blessed on their admission, they fable that the whole earth will then be as one loaf of bread, which God will reach to them with his hand, holding it like a cake ; and that for meat they will have the ox Balâm, and the fish Nûn, the lobes of whose livers will suffice seventy thousand men, being, as some imagine, to be set before the principal guests, viz. those who, to that number, will be admitted into paradise without examination¹ ; though others suppose that a definite number is here put for an indefinite, and that nothing more is meant thereby than to express a great multitude of people.

From this feast every one will be dismissed to the mansion designed for him, where (as has been said) he will enjoy such a share of felicity as will be proportioned to his merits, but vastly exceed comprehension or expectation ; since the very meanest in paradise (as he who, it is pretended, must know best, has declared) will have eighty thousand servants, seventy-two wives of the girls of paradise, besides the wives he had in this world, and a tent erected for him of pearls, jacinths, and emeralds, of a very large extent ; and, according to another tradition, will be waited on by three hundred attendants while he eats, will be served in dishes of gold, whereof three hundred shall be set before him at once, con-

¹ See before, p. 129.

taining each a different kind of food, the last morsel of which will be as grateful as the first; and will also be supplied with as many sorts of liquors in vessels of the same metal: and, to complete the entertainment, there will be no want of wine, which, though forbidden in this life, will yet be freely allowed to be drank in the next, and without danger, since the wine of paradise will not inebriate, as that we drink here. The flavour of this wine we may conceive to be delicious without a description, since the water of Tasnim, and the other fountains which will be used to dilute it, is said to be wonderfully sweet and fragrant. If any object to these pleasures, as an impudent Jew did to Mohammed, that so much eating and drinking must necessarily require proper evacuations, we answer, as the prophet did, that the inhabitants of paradise will not need to ease themselves, nor even to blow their nose, for that all superfluities will be discharged and carried off by perspiration, or a sweat as odoriferous as musk, after which their appetite shall return afresh.

The magnificence of the garments and furniture promised by the Korân to the godly in the next life is answerable to the delicacy of their diet: for they are to be clothed in the richest silks and brocades, chiefly of green, which will burst forth from the fruits of paradise, and will be also supplied by the leaves of the tree Tûba; they will be adorned with bracelets of gold and silver, and crowns set with pearls of incomparable lustre; and will make use of silken carpets, litters of a prodigious size, couches, pillows, and other rich furniture embroidered with gold and precious stones.

That we may the more readily believe what has been mentioned of the extraordinary abilities of the inhabitants of paradise to taste these pleasures in their height, it is said they will enjoy a perpetual youth; that in whatever age they happen to die, they will be raised in their prime and vigour, that

is, of about thirty years of age, which age they will never exceed (and the same they say of the damned), and that when they enter paradise they will be of the same stature with Adam, who, as they fable, was no less than sixty cubits high. And to this age and stature their children, if they shall desire any (for otherwise their wives will not conceive), shall immediately attain ; according to that saying of their prophet, “ If any of the faithful in paradise be desirous of issue, it shall be conceived, born, and grown up, within the space of an hour. And in the same manner, if any one shall have a fancy to employ himself in agriculture (which rustic pleasure may suit the wanton fancy of some), what he shall sow will spring up and come to maturity in a moment.

Lest any of the senses should want their proper delight, we are told the ear will there be entertained, not only with the ravishing songs of the angel Israfil, who has the most melodious voice of all God’s creatures, and of the daughters of paradise ; but even the trees themselves will celebrate the divine praises with a harmony exceeding whatever mortals have heard ; to which will be joined the sound of the bells hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God, so often as the blessed wish for music : nay, the very clashing of the golden-bodied trees, whose fruits are pearls and emeralds, will surpass human imagination ; so that the pleasures of this sense will not be the least of the enjoyments of paradise.

The delights we have hitherto taken a view of, it is said, will be common to all the inhabitants of paradise, even those of the lowest order. What then, think we, must they enjoy who shall obtain a superior degree of honour and felicity ? To these, they say, there are prepared, besides all this, “ such things as eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive ;” an ex-

pression most certainly borrowed from scripture¹. That we may know wherein the felicity of those who shall attain the highest degree will consist, Moham-med is reported to have said, that the meanest of the inhabitants of paradise will see his gardens, wives, servants, furniture, and other possessions, take up the space of a thousand years' journey (for so far and farther will the blessed see in the next life); but that he will be in the highest honour with God, who shall behold his face morning and evening: and this favour al Ghazâli supposes to be that *additional* or *superabundant recompense*, promised in the Korân², which will give such exquisite delight, that in respect thereof all the other pleasures of paradise will be forgotten and lightly esteemed; and not without reason, since, as the same author says, every other enjoyment is equally tasted by the very brute beast who is turned loose into luxuriant pasture³. The reader will observe, by the way, that this is a full confutation of those who pretend the Moham-medans admit of no spiritual pleasure in the next life, but make the happiness of the blessed to consist wholly in corporeal enjoyments⁴.

Whence Mohammed took the greatest part of his paradise, it is easy to show. The Jews constantly describe the future mansion of the just as a delicious garden, and make it also reach to the seventh heaven⁵; they also say it has three gates⁶, or, as others will have it, two⁷, and four rivers (which last circumstance they copied, to be sure, from those of the garden of Eden⁸), flowing with milk, wine, balsam, and honey⁹. Their Behemoth and Leviathan, which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed¹⁰, are so apparently the Balâm

¹ Isaiah, lxiv. 4. 1 Corinth. ii. 9.
not. ad Port. Mosis, p. 305.

² Chap. x. &c.

³ V. Poc. in

⁴ V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 2. § 17.

⁵ V. Gemar. Tânith, f. 25. Beracoth, f. 34, and Midrash sabbath, f. 37.

⁶ Megillah, Amkoth, p. 78. ⁷ Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni. ⁸ Genesis,

ii. 10, &c. ⁹ Midrash, Yalk. Shem. ¹⁰ Gemar. Bava Bathra.

f. 78 Rashi, in Job i.

and Nûn of Mohammed, that his followers themselves confess he is obliged to them for both ¹. The Rabbins likewise mention seven different degrees of felicity², and say that the highest will be of those who perpetually contemplate the face of God ³. The Persian Magi had also an idea of the future happy estate of the good, very little different from that of Mohammed. Paradise they call Behisht, and Mînu, which signifies *crystal*, where they believe the righteous shall enjoy all manner of delights, and particularly the company of the Hurâni behisht, or *black-eyed nymphs of paradise* ⁴, the care of whom they say is committed to the angel Zamiyâd ⁵; and hence Mohammed seems to have taken the first hint of his paradisiacal ladies.

It is not improbable, however, but that he might have been obliged, in some respect, to the Christian accounts of the felicity of the good in the next life. As it is scarce possible to convey, especially to the apprehensions of the generality of mankind, an idea of spiritual pleasures without introducing sensible objects, the scriptures have been obliged to represent the celestial enjoyments by corporeal images; and to describe the mansion of the blessed as a glorious and magnificent city, built of gold and precious stones, with twelve gates; through the streets of which there runs a river of water of life, and having on either side the tree of life, which bears twelve sorts of fruits, and leaves of a healing virtue ⁶. Our Saviour likewise speaks of the future state of the blessed as of a kingdom, where they shall eat and drink at his table ⁷. But then these descriptions have none of those puerile imaginations ⁸ which reign

¹ V. Poc. not. in Port. Mosis, p. 298.

² Nishmat hayim, f. 32.

³ Midrash, Tehillim, f. 11.

⁴ Sadder, porta 5.

⁵ Hyde, de Rel.

Vet. Pers. p. 265.

⁶ Revel. xxi. 10, &c. and xxii. 1, 2.

⁷ Luke,

xxii. 29, 30, &c.

⁸ I would not, however, undertake to defend all the Christian writers in this particular; witness that one passage of Irenæus, wherein he introduces a tradition of St. John, that our Lord should say, *The days shall come in which there shall be vines, which shall have each ten thousand branches.*

throughout that of Mohammed, much less any the most distant intimation of sensual delights, which he was so fond of; on the contrary, we are expressly assured, that “in the resurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be as the angels of God in heaven¹. Mohammed, however, to enhance the value of paradise with his Arabians, chose rather to imitate the indecency of the Magians than the modesty of the Christians in this particular, and lest his beatified Moslems should complain that any thing was wanting, bestows on them wives, as well as the other comforts of life; judging, it is to be presumed, from his own inclinations, that like Panurgus’s ass², they would think all other enjoyments not worth their acceptance if they were to be debarred from this.

Had Mohammed, after all, intimated to his followers that what he had told them of paradise was to be taken, not literally, but in a metaphorical sense, (as it is said the Magians do the description of Zoroaster’s³), this might, perhaps, make some atonement; but the contrary is so evident from the whole tenor of the Korân, that although some Mohammedans, whose understandings are too refined to admit such gross conceptions, look on their prophet’s descriptions as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or spiritual acceptation⁴, yet the general and orthodox doctrine is, that the whole is to be strictly believed in the obvious and literal

and every of those branches shall have ten thousand lesser branches, and every of these branches shall have ten thousand twigs, and every one of these twigs shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes, and in every one of these clusters there shall be ten thousand grapes, and every one of these grapes being pressed shall yield two hundred and seventy-five gallons of wine; and when a man shall take hold of one of these sacred bunches, another bunch shall cry out, I am a better bunch, take me, and bless the Lord by me, &c. Iren. l. 5. c. 33.

¹ Matth. xxii. 30.

² V. Rabelais, Pantagr. l. 5. c. 7. A better authority than this might however be alleged in favour of Mohammed’s judgment in this respect; I mean that of Plato, who is said to have proposed, in his ideal commonwealth, as the reward of valiant men and consummate soldiers, the kisses of boys and beauteous damsels. V. Gell. Noct. Att. l. 18. c. 2.

³ V. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 266.

⁴ V. Eund. in not. ad Bebov. Lit. Turcar. p. 21.

acceptation; to prove which I need only urge the oath they exact from Christians (who they know abhor such fancies) when they would bind them in the most strong and sacred manner; for in such a case they make them swear that if they falsify their engagement they will affirm that there will be black-eyed girls in the next world, and corporeal pleasures¹.

Before we quit this subject, it may not be improper to observe the falsehood of a vulgar imputation on the Mohammedans, who are by several writers² reported to hold that women have no souls, or, if they have, that they will perish, like those of brute beasts, and will not be rewarded in the next life. But whatever may be the opinion of some ignorant people among them, it is certain that Mohammed had too great a respect for the fair sex to teach such a doctrine; and there are several passages in the Korân which affirm that women, in the next life, will not only be punished for their evil actions, but will also receive the rewards of their good deeds, as well as the men, and that in this case God will make no distinction of sexes³. It is true, the general notion is, that they will not be admitted into the same abode as the men are, because their places will be supplied by the paradisiacal females (though some allow that a man will there also have the company of those who were his wives in this world, or at least such of them as he shall desire⁴); but that good women will go into a separate place of happiness, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights⁵; but whether one of those delights will be the enjoyment of agreeable paramours created for them, to complete the economy of the Mohammedan system,

¹ Poc. ad Port. Mos. p. 305.

² Hornbek, Sum. Contr. p. 16. Grelot, Voyage de Constant. p. 275. Ricaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire, l. 2. c. 21.

³ See Kor. c. 3. p. 83. c. 4, p. 107. And also c. 13, 16, 40, 48, 57, &c. V. etiam Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 2. § 18. and Hyde, in Not. ad Bobov. de Visit. Ægr. p. 21.

⁴ See before, p. 135.

⁵ V. Charadin, Voy. tom. ii. p. 328. and Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Mahomet, Rem. Q.

is what I have nowhere found decided. One circumstance relating to these beatified females, conformable to what he had asserted of the men, he acquainted his followers with in the answer he returned to an old woman; who desiring him to intercede with God, that she might be admitted into paradise, he told her that no old woman would enter that place; which setting the poor woman a crying, he explained himself by saying, that God would then make her young again ¹.

The sixth great point of faith, which the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân to believe, is God's absolute decree, and predestination both of good and evil. For the orthodox doctrine is, that whatever hath or shall come to pass in this world, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, proceedeth entirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the *preserved table*²; God having secretly predetermined not only the adverse and prosperous fortune of every person in this world, in the most minute particulars, but also his faith or infidelity, his obedience or disobedience, and consequently his everlasting happiness or misery after death; which fate or predestination it is not possible, by any foresight or wisdom, to avoid.

Of this doctrine Mohammed makes great use in his Korân, for the advancement of his designs; encouraging his followers to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them that all their caution could not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment³; and deterring them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor, by setting before them the danger they might thereby incur of being, by the just judgment of God, abandoned to

¹ See Korân, c. 56, and the notes there; and Gagnier. not. in Abulfedæ Vit. Moh. p. 145.

² See before, p. 88.

³ Kor. c. 3, p. 74, 76, and

c. 4, p. 99, &c.

seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy ¹.

As this doctrine of absolute election and reprobation has been thought by many of the Mohammedan divines to be derogatory to the goodness and justice of God, and to make God the author of evil; several subtle distinctions have been invented, and disputes raised, to explicate or soften it; and different sects have been formed, according to their several opinions, or methods of explaining this point: some of them going so far as even to hold the direct contrary position, of absolute free will in man, as we shall see hereafter ².

Of the four fundamental points of religious practice required by the Korân, the first is *prayer*, under which, as has been said, are also comprehended those legal washings or purifications which are necessary preparations thereto.

Of these purifications there are two degrees, one called *Ghost*, being a total immersion or bathing of the body in water; and the other called *Wodû* (by the Persians, *abdest*), which is the washing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The first is required in some extraordinary cases only, as after having lain with a woman, or been polluted by emission of seed, or by approaching a dead body; women also being obliged to it after their courses or childbirth. The latter is the ordinary ablution in common cases, and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty ³. It is performed with certain formal ceremonies, which have been described by some writers, but are much easier apprehended by seeing them done than by the best description.

These purifications were perhaps borrowed by Mohammed of the Jews, at least they agree in a

¹ Kor. c. 4, p. 95 and 112-13. And c. 2, p. 3, &c. passim.

² Sect. VIII.

³ Kor. c. 4, p. 94, and c. 5, p. 118. V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 1. c. 8.

great measure with those used by that nation¹, who in process of time burthened the precepts of Moses in this point with so many traditionary ceremonies, that whole books have been written about them, and who were so exact and superstitious therein even in our Saviour's time, that they are often reproved by him for it². But as it is certain that the pagan Arabs used lustrations of this kind³, long before the time of Mohammed, as most nations did, and still do in the east, where the warmth of the climate requires a greater nicety and degree of cleanliness than these colder parts; perhaps Mohammed only recalled his countrymen to a more strict observance of those purifying rites, which had been probably neglected by them, or at least performed in a careless and perfunctory manner. The Mohammedans, however, will have it that they are as ancient as Abraham⁴, who, they say, was enjoined by God to observe them, and was showed the manner of making the ablution by the angel Gabriel, in the form of a beautiful youth⁵. Nay some deduce the matter higher, and imagine that these ceremonies were taught our first parents by the angels⁶.

That his followers might be the more punctual in this duty, Mohammed is said to have declared, that *the practice of religion is founded on cleanliness, which is the one half of the faith, and the key of prayer, without which it will not be heard by God*⁷. That these expressions may be the better understood, al Ghazâli reckons four degrees of purification; of which the first is, the cleansing of the body from all pollution, filth, and excrements; the second,

¹ Poc. not. in Port. Mosis, p. 356, &c.

² Mark vii. 3, &c.

³ V. Herodot. l. 3, c. 198.

⁴ Al Jannabi in Vita Abrah. V. Poc. Spec. p. 303.

⁵ Herewith agrees the spurious Gospel of S. Barnabas, the Spanish translation of which (chap. 29.) has these words. *Dixo Abraham Que harè yo para servir al Dios de los sanctos y prophetas? Respondiò el angel, Ve a aquella fuente y lavate, porque Dios quiere hablar contigo. Dixo Abraham, Como tengo de lavarme? Luego el angel se le apareciò como uno bello mancebo, y se lavò en la fuente, y le dixo, Abraham, haz como yo. Y Abraham se lavò, &c.*

⁶ Al Kessâi. V. Reland. de Rel. Mohamm. p. 81.

⁷ Al Ghazâli, Ebn al Athir.

the cleansing of the members of the body from all wickedness and unjust actions; the third, the cleansing of the heart from all blamable inclinations, and odious vices; and the fourth, the purging of a man's secret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on God: adding, that the body is but as the outward shell in respect to the heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reason he highly complains of those who are superstitiously solicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding those persons as unclean who are not so scrupulously nice as themselves, and at the same time have their minds lying waste, and overrun with pride, ignorance, and hypocrisy¹. Whence it plainly appears with how little foundation the Mohammedans have been charged, by some writers², with teaching or imagining that these formal washings alone cleanse them from their sins³.

Lest so necessary a preparation to their devotions should be omitted, either where water cannot be had, or when it may be of prejudice to a person's health, they are allowed in such cases to make use of fine sand or dust in lieu of it⁴; and then they perform this duty by clapping their open hands on the sand, and passing them over the parts, in the same manner as if they were dipped in water. But for this expedient Mohammed was not so much indebted to his own cunning⁵, as to the example of the Jews, or perhaps that of the Persian Magi, almost as scrupulous as the Jews themselves in their lustrations, who both of them prescribe the same method in cases of necessity⁶; and there is a famous

¹ V. Poc. Spec. p. 302, &c.

² Barthol. Edessen. Confut. Hagaren. p. 360. G. Sionita and J. Hesronita, in Tract. de Urb. et Morib. Orient. ad Calcem. Geogr. Nubiens. c. 15. Du Ryer, dans le Sommaire de la Rel. des Turcs, mis à la Tête de sa Version de l'Alcor. St. Olon, Descr. du Royaume de Maroc, c. 2. Hyde, in Not. ad Bobov. de Prec. Moh. p. 1. Smith, de Morib. et Instit. Turcar. Ep. 1. p. 32.

³ V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 2. c. 11.

⁴ Korân, c. 3. p. 94. and 5. p. 118.

⁵ V. Smith, ubi sup.

⁶ Gemar.

Berachoth. c. 2. V. Poc. not. ad Port. Mosis, p. 389. Sadder, porta 84.

instance, in ecclesiastical history, of sand being used, for the same reason, instead of water, in the administration of the Christian sacrament of baptism, many years before Mohammed's time¹.

Neither are the Mohammedans contented with bare washing, but think themselves obliged to several other necessary points of cleanliness, which they make also parts of this duty; such as combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, shaving their private parts, and circumcision²; of which last I will add a word or two, lest I should not find a more proper place.

Circumcision, though it be not so much as once mentioned in the Korân, is yet held by the Mohammedans to be an ancient divine institution, confirmed by the religion of Islâm, and though not so absolutely necessary but that it might be dispensed with in some cases³, yet highly proper and expedient. The Arabs used this rite for many ages before Mohammed, having probably learned it from Ismael, though not only his descendants, but the Hamyarites⁴, and other tribes, practised the same. The Ismaelites, we are told⁵, used to circumcise their children, not on the eighth day, as is the custom of the Jews, but when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which age their father underwent that operation⁶: and the Mohammedans imitate them so far as not to circumcise children before they be able, at least, distinctly to pronounce that profession of their faith, *There is no God but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God*⁷; but pitch on what age they please for the purpose between six and sixteen, or thereabouts⁸. Though the Moslem doctors are generally of opinion, conformably to the Scripture, that this

¹ Cedren. p. 250.

² V. Poc Spec. p. 303.

³ V. Bobov. de Circumcis. p. 22.

⁴ Philostorg. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3.

⁵ Joseph. Ant. l. 1.

c. 23.

⁶ Genes. xvii. 25.

⁷ V. Bobov. ubi sup. and Poc. Spec.

p. 19.

⁸ V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 1. p. 75.

precept was originally given to Abraham, yet some have imagined that Adam was taught it by the angel Gabriel, to satisfy an oath he had made to cut off that flesh which, after his fall, had rebelled against his spirit; whence an odd argument has been drawn for the universal obligation of circumcision¹. Though I cannot say the Jews led the Mohammedans the way here, yet they seem so unwilling to believe any of the principal patriarchs or prophets before Abraham were really uncircumcised, that they pretend several of them, as well as some holy men who lived after his time, were born ready circumcised, or without a foreskin, and that Adam, in particular, was so created²; whence the Mohammedans affirm the same thing of their prophet³.

Prayer was by Mohammed thought so necessary a duty, that he used to call it *the pillar of religion*, and *the key of paradise*; and when the Thakifites, who dwelt at Tâyef, sending in the ninth year of the Hejra to make their submission to that prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them⁴, begged, at least, that they might be dispensed with as to their saying of the appointed prayers, he answered, *That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer*⁵.

That so important a duty, therefore, might not be neglected, Mohammed obliged his followers to pray five times every twenty-four hours, at certain stated times; viz. 1. In the morning, before sunrise: 2. When noon is past, and the sun begins to decline

¹ This is the substance of the following passage of the Gospel of Barnabas, (chap. 23.) viz. *Entonces dixo Jesus; Adam el primer hombre aviendo comido por engano del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayso, se le rebelò su carne à su espiritu; por lo qual jurò diziendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar; y rompiendo una piedra tomò su carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra. Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel Gabriel, y el le dixo; Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y mentiroso no le serè jamas. Ala hora el angel le enseno la superfluidad de su carne, y a quella cortò. De manera que ansi como todo hombre toma carne de Adam, ansi esta obligado a cumplir aquello que Adam con juramento prometì.*

² Shalshel. hakkabala. V. Poc. Spec. p. 320. ³ V. Poc. Spec. p. 304. ⁴ See before, p. 23, 24. ⁵ Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 127.

from the meridian : 3. In the afternoon, before sunset : 4. In the evening, after sun-set, and before day be shut in : and, 5. After the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night¹. For this institution he pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of God himself, when he took his night journey to heaven : and the observing of the stated times of prayer is frequently insisted on in the Korân, though they be not particularly prescribed therein. Accordingly, at the aforesaid times, of which public notice is given by the Muedhdhins, or Criers, from the steeples of their Mosques (for they use no bells), every conscientious Moslem prepares himself for prayer, which he performs either in the Mosque or any other place, provided it be clean, after a prescribed form, and with a certain number of praises or ejaculations (which the more scrupulous count by a string of beads), and using certain postures of worship ; all which have been particularly set down and described, though with some few mistakes, by other writers², and ought not to be abridged unless in some special cases ; as on a journey, on preparing for battle, &c.

For the regular performance of the duty of prayer among the Mohammedans, besides the particulars above-mentioned, it is also requisite that they turn their faces, while they pray, towards the temple of Mecca³ ; the quarter where the same is situate being, for that reason, pointed out within their Mosques by a niche, which they call al Mehrâb, and without, by the situation of the doors opening into the galleries of the steeples : there are also tables calculated for the ready finding out their Keblah, or part towards which they ought to pray, in places where they have no other direction⁴.

¹ V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 38, 39. ² V. Hotting. Hist. Eccles. Tom. 8. p. 470—529. Bobov. in Liturg. Turcic. p. 1, &c. Grelot, Voyage de Constant. p. 253—264. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, Tom. II. p. 383, &c. and Smith, de Moribus ac Instit. Turcar. Ep. 1, p. 33, &c. ³ Korân, chap. 2, p. 24. See the notes there. ⁴ V. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 8, 9, and 126.

But what is principally to be regarded in the discharge of this duty, say the Moslem doctors, is the inward disposition of the heart, which is the life and spirit of prayer¹; the most punctual observance of the external rites and ceremonies before-mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope²: so that we must not think the Mohammedans, or the considerate part of them at least, content themselves with the mere *opus operatum*, or imagine their whole religion to be placed therein³.

I had like to have omitted two things which in my mind deserve mention on this head, and may, perhaps, be better defended than our contrary practice. One is, that the Mohammedans never address themselves to God in sumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently clothed; but lay aside their costly habits and pompous ornaments, if they wear any, when they approach the divine presence, lest they should seem proud and arrogant⁴. The other is, that they admit not their women to pray with them in public; that sex being obliged to perform their devotions at home, or if they visit the mosques, it must be at a time when the men are not there: for the Moslems are of opinion that their presence inspires a different kind of devotion from that which is requisite in a place dedicated to the worship of God⁵.

¹ Al Ghazâlî.² V. Poc. Spec. p. 305.³ V. Smith, ubi sup. p. 40.⁴ Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 96. See Kor. chap. 7.

⁵ A Moor, named Ahmed Ebn Abdalla, in a Latin epistle by him written to Maurice prince of Orange, and Emanuel prince of Portugal, containing a censure of the Christian religion (a copy of which once belonging to Mr. Selden, who has thence transcribed a considerable passage in his Treatise De Synedriis Vett. Ebræor. l. 1, c. 12, is now in the Bodleian library), finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which mass is said among the Roman Catholics, for this very reason among others. His words are: *Ubique congregantur simul viri et fœminæ, ibi mens non est intenta et devota: nam inter celebrandum missam et sacrificia, fœminæ et viri mutuis aspectibus, signis, ac nutibus accendunt pravorum appetitum, et desideriorum suorum ignes: et quando hoc non fieret, saltem humana fragilitas delectatur mutuo et reciproco aspectu; et ita non potest esse mens quieta, attentæ, et devotæ.*

The greater part of the particulars comprised in the Mohammedan institution of prayer their prophet seems to have copied from others, and especially the Jews; exceeding their institutions only in the number of daily prayers¹. The Jews are directed to pray three times a day², in the morning, in the evening, and within night; in imitation of Abraham³, Isaac⁴, and Jacob⁵: and the practice was as early, at least, as the time of Daniel⁶. The several postures used by the Mohammedans in their prayers are also the same with those prescribed by the Jewish Rabbins, and particularly the most solemn act of adoration by prostrating themselves so as to touch the ground with their forehead⁷; notwithstanding the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this respect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to Baal-Peor⁸. The Jews likewise constantly pray with their faces turned towards the temple of Jerusalem⁹, which has been their Keblah from the time it was first dedicated by Solomon¹⁰; for which reason Daniel, praying in Chaldea, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city¹¹: and the same was the Keblah of Mohammed and his followers for six or seven months¹², and till he found himself obliged to change it for the Caaba. The Jews moreover are obliged by the precepts of their religion to be careful that the place they pray in, and the garments they have on when they perform their duty be clean¹³; the men and women also among them pray apart (in which particular they were imitated by the eastern Christians); and several other conformities might

¹ The Sabians, according to some, exceed the Mohammedans in this point, praying seven times a day. See before, p. 19. ² Gemar. Berachoth.

³ Genes. xix. 27. ⁴ Genes. xxiv. 63. ⁵ Genes. xxviii. 11, &c.

⁶ Dan. vi. 10. ⁷ Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 427, &c. and Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 5, &c. ⁸ Maimonid. in Epist. ad

Proselyt. Relig. V. Poc. Spec. p. 306. ⁹ Gemar. Bava Bathra, and Berachoth.

¹⁰ 1 Kings, viii. 29, &c. ¹¹ Dan. vi. 10. ¹² Some say eighteen months. V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 54. ¹³ Maimon. in Halachoth. Tephilla, c. 9,

§ 8, 9. Menura hammoor, fol. 28. 2.

be remarked between the Jewish public worship and that of the Mohammedans ¹.

The next point of the Mohammedan religion is the giving of alms; which are of two sorts, *legal* and *voluntary*. The *legal alms* are of indispensable obligation, being commanded by the law, which directs and determines both the portion which is to be given, and of what things it ought to be given; but the *voluntary alms* are left to every one's liberty, to give more or less, as he shall see fit. The former kind of alms some think to be properly called *Zacât*, and the latter *Sadakât*; though this name be also frequently given to the legal alms. They are called *Zacât*, either because they *increase* a man's store, by drawing down a blessing thereon, and *produce* in his soul the virtue of liberality ², or because they *purify* the remaining part of one's substance from pollution, and the soul from the filth of avarice ³; and *Sadakât*, because they are a proof of a man's *sincerity* in the worship of God. Some writers have called the legal alms *tythes*, but improperly, since in some cases they fall short, and in others exceed that proportion.

The giving of alms is frequently commanded in the Korân, and often recommended therein jointly with prayer; the former being held of great efficacy in causing the latter to be heard of God: for which reason the Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz used to say, "that prayer carries us half way to God, fasting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procure us admission ⁴." The Mohammedans therefore esteem almsdeeds to be highly meritorious, and many of them have been illustrious for the exercise thereof. Hasan the son of Ali, and grandson of Mohammed, in particular, is related to have thrice in his life divided his substance equally between himself and

¹ V. Millium, ubi supra, p. 424, et seq. ² Al Beidâwi. See Kor. chap. 2. p. 46—48. ³ Idem. Compare this with what our Saviour says, Luke xi. 41. "Give alms of such things as ye have; and behold, all things are clean unto you." ⁴ D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 5.

the poor, and twice to have given away all he had¹: and the generality are so addicted to the doing of good, that they extend their charity even to brutes².

Alms, according to the prescriptions of the Mohammedan law, are to be given of five things; 1. Of cattle, that is to say, of camels, kine, and sheep. 2. Of money. 3. Of corn. 4. Of fruits, *viz.* dates and raisins. And 5. Of wares sold. Of each of these a certain portion is to be given in alms, being usually one part in forty, or two and a half *per cent.* of the value. But no alms are due for them, unless they amount to a certain quantity or number; nor until a man has been in possession of them eleven months, he not being obliged to give alms thereout before the twelfth month is begun: nor are alms due for cattle employed in tilling the ground, or in carrying of burdens. In some cases a much larger portion than the before-mentioned is reckoned due for alms: thus of what is gotten out of mines, or the sea, or by any art or profession over and above what is sufficient for the reasonable support of a man's family, and especially where there is a mixture or suspicion of unjust gain, a fifth part ought to be given in alms. Moreover, at the end of the fast of Ramadân, every Moslem is obliged to give in alms for himself and for every one of his family, if he has any, a measure³ of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, rice, or other provisions commonly eaten⁴.

The legal alms were at first collected by Mohammed himself, who employed them as he thought fit, in the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly applied them to the maintenance of those who served in his wars, and fought, as he termed it, in the way of God. His successors continued to do

¹ D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 422. ² V. Busbeq. Epist. 3. p. 178. Smith, De Morib. Turc. Ep. 1. p. 66, &c. Compare Eccles. xi. 1. and Prov. xii. 10.

³ This measure is a Saâ, and contains about six or seven pounds weight. ⁴ V. Reland. de Rel. Mohammed. l. 1. p. 99, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. II. p. 415, &c.

the same, till, in process of time, other taxes and tributes being imposed for the support of the government, they seem to have been weary of acting as almoners to their subjects, and to have left the paying them to their consciences.

In the foregoing rules concerning alms, we may observe also footsteps of what the Jews taught and practised in respect thereto. Alms, which they also call *Sedaka*, i. e. *justice*, or *righteousness* ¹, are greatly recommended by their Rabbins, and preferred even to sacrifices ²; as a duty the frequent exercise whereof will effectually free a man from hell fire ³, and merit everlasting life ⁴: wherefore, besides the corners of the field, and the gleanings of their harvest and vineyard, commanded to be left for the poor and the stranger by the law of Moses ⁵, a certain portion of their corn and fruits is directed to be set apart for their relief, which portion is called the tithes of the poor ⁶. The Jews likewise were formerly very conspicuous for their charity. Zaccheus gave the half of his goods to the poor ⁷; and we are told that some gave their whole substance: so that their doctors, at length, decreed that no man should give above a fifth part of his goods in alms ⁸. There were also persons publicly appointed in every synagogue to collect and distribute the people's contributions ⁹.

The third point of religious practice is fasting; a duty of so great moment, that Mohammed used to say it was "the gate of religion," and that "the odour of the mouth of him who fasteth is more grateful to God than that of musk;" and al Ghazâli reckons fasting "one-fourth part of the faith." According to the Mohammedan divines, there are three

¹ Hence alms are in the New Testament termed *δικαιοσύνη*. Matth. vi. 1. (Ed. Steph.) and 2 Co. ix. 10. ² Gemar. in Bava bathra. ³ Ibid. in Gittin.

⁴ Ibid. in Rosh hashana. ⁵ Levit. xix. 9, 10. Deut. xxiv. 19, &c. ⁶ V. Gemar. Hierosol. in Peah, and Maimon. in Halachoth matanoth Aniyyim. c. 6. Confer Pirke Avoth, v. 9. ⁷ Luke xix. 8.

⁸ V. Reland. Ant. Sacr. Vet. Hebr. p. 402. ⁹ V. ibid. p. 133.

degrees of fasting: 1. The restraining the belly and other parts of the body from satisfying their lusts; 2. The restraining the ears, eyes, tongue, hands, feet, and other members, from sin; and 3. The fasting of the heart from worldly cares, and restraining the thoughts from every thing besides God¹.

The Mohammedans are obliged, by the express command of the Korân, to fast the whole month of Ramadân, from the time the new moon first appears, till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from daybreak till night, or sunset. And this injunction they observe so strictly, that while they fast they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, esteeming the fast broken and null if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, or even purposely swallow their spittle; some being so cautious that they will not open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe the air too freely³: the fast is also deemed void if a man kiss or touch a woman, or if he vomit designedly. But after sunset they are allowed to refresh themselves, and to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till daybreak⁴; though the more rigid begin the fast again at midnight⁵. This fast is extremely rigorous and mortifying when

¹ Al Ghazâlî, al Mostatraf. ² Korân, chap. 2. p. 30, 31. ³ Hence we read that the Virgin Mary, to avoid answering the reflections cast on her for bringing home a child, was advised by the angel Gabriel to feign she had vowed a fast, and therefore ought not to speak. See Korân, chap. 19. ⁴ The words of the Korân (chap. 2, p. 31.) are, "Until ye can distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak;" a form of speaking borrowed by Mohammed from the Jews, who determine the time when they are to begin their morning lesson to be so soon as a man can discern blue from white, i. e. the blue threads from the white threads in the fringes of their garments. But this explication the commentators do not approve; pretending that by the "white thread and the black thread" are to be understood the light and dark streaks of the daybreak: and they say the passage was at first revealed without the words "of the daybreak;" but Mohammed's followers taking the expression in the first sense, regulated their practice accordingly, and continued eating and drinking till they could distinguish a white thread from a black thread, as they lay before them; to prevent which for the future, the words "of the daybreak" were added as explanatory of the former. Al Beidâwi. V. Pocock Not. in Carmen Tograi, p. 89. &c. Chardin; Voy. de Perse, t. II. p. 423. ⁵ V. Chardin, ib. p. 421, &c. Reland. de Religi. Moh. p. 109, &c.

the month of Ramadân happens to fall in summer, (for the Arabian year being lunar¹, each month runs through all the different seasons in the course of thirty-three years), the length and heat of the days making the observance of it much more difficult and uneasy then than in winter.

The reason given why the month of Ramadân was pitched on for this purpose is, that on that month the Korân was sent down from heaven². Some pretend that Abraham, Moses, and Jesus received their respective revelations in the same month³.

From the fast of Ramadân none are excused, except only travellers and sick persons (under which last denomination the doctors comprehend all whose health would manifestly be injured by their keeping the fast; as women with child, and giving suck, ancient people, and young children); but then they are obliged, so soon as the impediment is removed, to fast an equal number of other days: and the breaking the fast is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor⁴.

Mohammed seems to have followed the guidance of the Jews in his ordinances concerning fasting, no less than in the former particulars. That nation, when they fast, abstain not only from eating and drinking, but from women, and from anointing themselves⁵, from daybreak until sunset, and the stars begin to appear⁶; spending the night in taking what refreshments they please⁷. And they allow women with child and giving suck, old persons, and young children, to be exempted from keeping most of the public fasts⁸.

Though my design here be briefly to treat of those points only which are of indispensable obligation on

¹ See hereafter, § VI. ² Korân, chap. 2. p. 31. See also chap. 97.
³ Al Beidâwi, ex Trad. Mohammedis. ⁴ See Korân, chap. 2. p. 31. ⁵ Siphra, fol. 252. 2. ⁶ Tosephoth ad Gemar. Yoma, f. 34. ⁷ V. Gemar. Yoma, f. 40, and Maimon. in Halachoth Tâniyth, c. 5. § 5. ⁸ V. Gemar. Tâniyth, f. 12, and Yoma, fol. 83, and Es Hayim, Tâniyth, c. 1.

a Moslem, and expressly required by the Korân, without entering into their practice as to voluntary and supererogatory works; yet to show how closely Mohammed's institutions follow the Jewish, I shall add a word or two of the voluntary fasts of the Mohammedans. These are such as have been recommended either by the example or approbation of their prophet; and especially certain days of those months which they esteem sacred: there being a tradition that he used to say, That a fast of one day in a sacred month was better than a fast of thirty days in another month; and that the fast of one day in Ramadân was more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month¹. Among the more commendable days is that of Ashûra, the tenth of Moharram; which, though some writers tell us it was observed by the Arabs, and particularly the tribe of Koreish, before Mohammed's time², yet, as others assure us, that prophet borrowed both the name and the fast from the Jews; it being, with them, the tenth of the seventh month, or Tisri, and the great day of expiation commanded to be kept by the law of Moses³. Al Kazwîni relates, that when Mohammed came to Medina and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashûra, he asked them the reason of it; and they told him, it was because on that day Pharaoh and his people were drowned, Moses, and those who were with him, escaping: whereupon he said, that he bore a nearer relation to Moses than they; and ordered his followers to fast on that day. However, it seems, afterwards he was not so well pleased in having imitated the Jews herein; and therefore declared, that if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and fast on the ninth, abhorring so near an agreement with them⁴.

The pilgrimage to Mecca is so necessary a point of practice, that, according to a tradition of Mo-

¹ Al Ghazâli. ² Al Bârezi, in Comment, ad Orat. Ebn Nobâta. ³ Levit. xvi. 29 and xxiii. 27. ⁴ Ebn al Athîr. V. Pocock. Spec. p. 309.

hammed, he who dies without performing it may as well die a Jew or a Christian¹; and the same is expressly commanded in the Korân². Before I speak of the time and manner of performing this pilgrimage, it may be proper to give a short account of the temple of Mecca, the chief scene of the Mohammedan worship; in doing which I need be the less prolix, because that edifice has been already described by several writers³, though they following different relations have been led into some mistakes, and agree not with one another in several particulars: nor, indeed, do the Arab authors agree in all things, one great reason whereof is their speaking of different times.

The temple of Mecca stands in the midst of the city, and is honoured with the title of Masjad al alharâm, i. e. *the sacred or inviolable temple*. What is principally revered in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone building, called the Caaba, as some fancy from its *height*, which surpasses that of the other buildings in Mecca⁴, but more probably from its *quadrangular* form, and Beit Allah, i. e. *the house of God*, being peculiarly hallowed and set apart for his worship. The length of this edifice, from north to south, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth from east to west twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty-seven cubits: the door, which is on the east side, stands about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door⁵. In the corner next this door is *the black stone*, of which I shall take notice by and by. On the north side of the Caaba, within a semicircular enclosure fifty cubits long, lies the *white stone*, said to be the sepulchre of Ismael, which re-

¹ Al Ghazâli. &c.

² Chap. 3. p. 67. See also chap. 22, and chap. 2, p. 22, &c.

³ Chardin, Voy. de Perse, T. II. p. 428, &c. Bremond, Descriptioni dell'Egitto, &c. l. 1. c. 29. Pitt's Account of the Rel. &c. of the Mohametans, p. 98, &c. and Boulainvilliers, Vie de Mahomed, p. 54, &c. which last author is the most particular.

⁴ Ahmed Ebn Yusef.

⁵ Sharif al Edrisi,

and Kitab Masalec, apud Poc. Spec. p. 125, &c.

ceives the rain-water that falls off the Caaba by a spout, formerly of wood¹, but now of gold. The Caaba has a double roof, supported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood : between which, on a bar of iron, hang some silver lamps. The outside is covered with rich black damask, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly sent by the Khalifs, afterwards by the Soltâns of Egypt, and is now provided by the Turkish emperors. At a small distance from the Caaba, on the east side, is the station or place of Abraham, where is another stone much respected by the Mohammedans, of which something will be said hereafter.

The Caaba, at some distance, is surrounded, but not entirely, by a circular enclosure of pillars joined towards the bottom by a low balustrade, and towards the top by bars of silver. Just without this inner enclosure, on the south, north, and west sides of the Caaba, are three buildings, which are the oratories or places where three of the orthodox sects assemble to perform their devotions (the fourth sect, viz. that of al Shâfeï, making use of the station of Abraham for that purpose); and towards the south-east stands the edifice which covers the well Zemzem, the treasury, and the cupola of al Abbas².

All these buildings are enclosed, at a considerable distance, by a magnificent piazza, or square colonnade, like that of the Royal Exchange in London, but much larger, covered with small domes or cupolas; from the four corners whereof rise as many Minârets or steeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded spires and crescents, as are the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the pillars of both enclosures hang a great number of lamps, which are constantly lighted at night. The first foundations of this

¹ Sharîf al Edrisi, *ibid.*

² *Idem*, *ibid.*

outward enclosure were laid by Omar, the second Khalif, who built no more than a low wall, to prevent the court of the Caaba, which before lay open, from being encroached on by private buildings; but the structure has been since raised, by the liberality of many succeeding princes and great men, to its present lustre¹.

This is properly all that is called the temple, but the whole territory of Mecca being also Harâm or sacred, there is a third enclosure, distinguished at certain distances by small turrets, some five, some seven, and others ten miles distant from the city². Within this compass of ground it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree; which is the true reason why the pigeons at Mecca are reckoned sacred, and not that they are supposed to be of the race of that imaginary pigeon which some authors, who should have known better, would persuade us Mohammed made pass for the Holy Ghost³.

The temple of Mecca was a place of worship, and in singular veneration with the Arabs from great antiquity, and many centuries before Mohammed. Though it was most probably dedicated at first to an idolatrous use⁴, yet the Mohammedans are generally persuaded that the Caaba is almost coeval with the world; for they say that Adam, after his expulsion from paradise, begged of God that he might erect a building like that he had seen there, called Beit al Mamûr, or the frequented house, and al Dorâh, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compass, as the angels do the celestial one. Whereupon God let down a representation of that

¹ Poc. Spec. p. 116. ² Gol. Not. in Alfrag. p. 99. ³ Gab. Sionita, et Joh. Hesronita, de nonnullis Orient. Urbib. ad Calc. Geogr. Nub. p. 21. Al Mogholtaï, in his life of Mohammed, says the pigeons of the temple of Mecca are of the breed of those which laid their eggs at the mouth of the cave where the prophet and Abu Becr hid themselves, when they fled from that city. See before, p. 64. ⁴ See before, p. 23.

house in curtains of light¹, and set it in Mecca, perpendicularly under its original², ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way of devotion³. After Adam's death, his son Seth built a house in the same form, of stones and clay, which being destroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham and Ismael⁴, at God's command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same model, they being directed therein by revelation⁵.

After this edifice had undergone several reparations, it was a few years after the birth of Mohammed rebuilt by the Koreish on the old foundation⁶, and afterwards repaired by Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, the Khalif of Mecca, and at length again rebuilt by Yusof, surnamed al Hejâj Ebn Yûsff, in the seventy-fourth year of the Hejra, with some alterations, in the form wherein it now remains⁷. Some years after, however, the Khalif Harûn al Rashîd (or, as others write, his father al Mohdi, or his grandfather al Mansûr), intended again to change what had been altered by al Hejâj, and to reduce the Caaba to the old form in which it was left by Abd'allah; but was dissuaded from meddling with it, lest so holy a place should become the sport of princes, and being new-modelled after every one's fancy, should lose that reverence which was justly paid it⁸. But notwithstanding the antiquity and

¹ Some say that the Beit al Mâmûr itself was the Caaba of Adam, which, having been let down to him from heaven, was, at the flood, taken up again into heaven, and is there kept. Al Zamakh. in Kor. c. 2 ² Al Jûzi, ex Trad. Ebn Abbas. It has been observed, that the primitive Christian church held a parallel opinion as to the situation of the celestial Jerusalem with respect to the terrestrial: for in the apocryphal book of the revelations of S. Peter, (chap. xxvii.) after Jesus has mentioned unto Peter the creation of the seven heavens (whence, by the way, it appears that this number of heavens was not devised by Mohammed), and of the angels, begins the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in these words: *We have created the upper Jerusalem above the waters which are above the third heaven, hanging directly over the lower Jerusalem, &c.* V. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 28. ³ Al Shahrestâni. ⁴ V. Kor. chap. 2, p. 22, 23. ⁵ Al Jannâbi, in Vita Abrah. ⁶ V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 13. ⁷ Idem, in Hist. Gen. Al Jannâbi, &c. ⁸ Al Jannâbi.

holiness of this building, they have a prophecy, by tradition from Mohammed, that in the last times the Ethiopians shall come and utterly demolish it; after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever¹.

Before we leave the temple of Mecca, two or three particulars deserve further notice. One is the celebrated black stone, which is set in silver, and fixed in the south-east corner of the Caaba, being that which looks toward Basra, about two cubits and one-third, or, which is the same thing, seven spans from the ground. This stone is exceedingly respected by the Mohammedans, and is kissed by the pilgrims with great devotion, being called by some the *right hand of God on earth*. They fable that it is one of the precious stones of paradise, and fell down to the earth with Adam, and being taken up again, or otherwise preserved at the deluge, the angel Gabriel afterwards brought it back to Abraham when he was building the Caaba. It was at first whiter than milk, but grew black long since by the touch of a menstruous woman, or, as others tell us, by the sins of mankind², or rather by the touches and kisses of so many people; the superficies only being black, and the inside still remaining white³. When the Karmatians⁴, among other profanations by them offered to the temple of Mecca, took away this stone, they could not be prevailed on for love or money to restore it, though those of Mecca offered no less than five thousand pieces of gold for it⁵. However, after they had kept it twenty-two years, seeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from Mecca, they sent it back of their own accord; at the same time bantering its devotees by telling them it was not the true stone: but, as it is said, it

¹ Idem, Ahmed Ebn Yusef. V. Poc. Spec. p. 115, &c. ² Al Zamakh, &c. in Kor. Ahmed Ebn Yusef. ³ Poc. Spec. p. 117, &c. ⁴ These Karmatians were a sect which arose in the year of the Hejra 278, and whose opinions overturned the fundamental points of Mohammedism. See D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient. Art. Carmath, and hereafter, § VIII. ⁵ D'Herbe'. p. 40.

was proved to be no counterfeit by its peculiar quality of swimming on water¹.

Another thing observable in this temple is the stone in Abraham's place, wherein they pretend to show his footsteps, telling us he stood on it when he built the Caaba², and that it served him for a scaffold, rising and falling of itself as he had occasion³; though another tradition says he stood upon it while the wife of his son Ismael, whom he paid a visit to, washed his head⁴. It is now enclosed in an iron chest, out of which the pilgrims drink the water of Zemzem⁵, and are ordered to pray at it by the Korân⁶. The officers of the temple took care to hide this stone when the Karmatians took the other⁷.

The last thing I shall take notice of in the temple is the well Zemzem on the east side of the Caaba, and which is covered with a small building and cupola. The Mohammedans are persuaded it is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ismael, when Hagar his mother wandered with him in the desert⁸; and some pretend it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it, in the Egyptian tongue, Zem, zem, that is, Stay, stay⁹, though it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. The water of this well is reckoned holy, and is highly revered; being not only drank with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the Mohammedan dominions. Abd'allah, surnamed al Hâfedh, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of Mohammed, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zemzem water¹⁰, to which I really

¹ Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Abulfeda. V. Poc. Spec. p. 119.

² Abulfed.

³ V. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 35.

⁴ Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Safio'ddin.

⁵ Ahmed Ebn Yusef.

⁶ Chap. 2, p. 22.

⁷ V. Poc. Spec. p. 120, &c.

⁸ Genes. xxi. 19.

⁹ G. Sionit, et J. Hesr. de nonnull. Urb. Orient. p. 19.

¹⁰ D'Herbel. p. 5.

believe it as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inspiring of a poet.

To this temple every Mohammedan, who has health and means sufficient¹, ought once, at least, in his life to go on pilgrimage; nor are women excused from the performance of this duty. The pilgrims meet at different places near Mecca, according to the different parts from whence they come², during the months of Shawâl and Dhu'lkaada; being obliged to be there by the beginning of Dhu'lhajja; which month, as its name imports, is peculiarly set apart for the celebration of this solemnity.

At the places above-mentioned the pilgrims properly commence such; when the men put on the *Ihrâm* or sacred habit, which consists only of two woollen wrappers, one wrapped about their middle to cover their privities, and the other thrown over their shoulders, having their heads bare, and a kind of slippers which cover neither the heel nor the instep, and so enter the sacred territory in their way to Mecca. While they have this habit on they must neither hunt nor fowl³ (though they are allowed to fish⁴), which precept is so punctually observed, that they will not kill even a louse or a flea, if they find them on their bodies: there are some noxious animals, however, which they have permission to kill during the pilgrimage, as kites, ravens, scorpions, mice, and dogs given to bite⁵. During the pilgrimage it behoves a man to have a constant guard over his words and actions, and to avoid all quarrelling, or ill language, and all converse with women, and obscene discourse, and to apply his whole intention to the good work he is engaged in.

The pilgrims, being arrived at Mecca, immediately visit the temple, and then enter on the performance of the prescribed ceremonies, which consist chiefly

¹ See Kor. chap. 3, p. 67, and the notes thereon.
Mecc. p. 12, &c.

³ Korân, chap. 5.

² V. Bobov. de Peregr.

⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Al Beid.

in going in procession round the Caaba, in running between the mounts Safâ and Merwâ, in making the station on mount Arafat, and slaying the victims, and shaving their heads in the valley of Mina. These ceremonies have been so particularly described by others¹, that I may be excused if I but just mention the most material circumstances thereof.

In compassing the Caaba, which they do seven times, beginning at the corner where the black stone is fixed, they use a short quick pace the three first times they go round it, and a grave ordinary pace the four last; which, it is said, was ordered by Mohammed, that his followers might show themselves strong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of Medina had rendered them weak². But the aforesaid quick pace they are not obliged to use every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at some particular times³. So often as they pass by the black stone they either kiss it, or touch it with their hand, and kiss that.

The running between Safâ and Merwâ⁴ is also performed seven times, partly with a slow pace, and partly running⁵: for they walk gravely till they come to a place between two pillars; and there they run, and afterwards walk again; sometimes looking back, and sometimes stopping, like one who has lost something, to represent Hagar seeking water for her son⁶: for the ceremony is said to be as ancient as her time⁷.

On the ninth of Dhul'hajja, after morning prayer, the pilgrims leave the valley of Mina, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and rushing manner to mount Arafat⁸, where they

¹ Bobov. de Peregr. Mecc. p. 11, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, T. 2, p. 440, &c. See also Pitts's account of the rel. &c. of the Mohammedans, p. 92, &c. Gagnier, Vie de Mah. t. 2, p. 258, &c. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 130, &c. and Reland. de Rel. Mch. p. 113, &c. ² Ebn al Athir. ³ V. Poc. Spec. p. 314.

⁴ See before, p. 27.

⁵ Al Ghazâli.

⁶ Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 121.

⁷ Ebn al Athir.

⁸ See Kor. chap. 2, p. 33.

stay to perform their devotions till sunset: then they go to Mozdalifa, an oratory between Arafat and Mina, and there spend the night in prayer, and reading the Korân. The next morning by day-break they visit al Mashér al harâm, or the sacred monument¹, and departing thence before sunrise, haste by Batn Mohasser to the valley of Mina, where they throw seven stones² at three marks or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who meeting the devil in that place, and being by him disturbed in his devotions, or tempted to disobedience, when he was going to sacrifice his son, was commanded by God to drive him away by throwing stones at him³; though others pretend this rite to be as old as Adam, who also put the devil to flight in the same place, and by the same means⁴.

This ceremony being over, on the same day, the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, the pilgrims slay their victims in the said valley of Mina; of which they and their friends eat part, and the rest is given to the poor. These victims must be either sheep, goats, kine, or camels; males, if of either of the two former kinds, and females if of either of the latter, and of a fit age⁵. The sacrifices being over, they shave their heads and cut their nails, burying them in the same place; after which the pilgrimage is looked on as completed⁶: though they again visit the Caaba, to take their leave of that sacred building.

The above-mentioned ceremonies, by the confession of the Mohammedans themselves, were almost all of them observed by the pagan Arabs many ages before their prophet's appearance; and particularly the compassing of the Caaba, the running between Safâ and Merwâ, and the throwing of the stones in Mina;

¹ See Kor. chap. 2, p. 33. Mr. Gagnier has been twice guilty of a mistake in confounding this monument with the sacred enclosure of the Caaba. V. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 131, et Vie de Mah. t. 2, p. 262.

² Dr. Pocock, from al Ghazâlî, says seventy, at different times and places. Spec. p. 315.

³ Al Ghazâlî, Ahmed Ebn Yuscf. ⁴ Ebn al Athîr. ⁵ V. Reland, ubi sup. p. 117. ⁶ See Kor. chap. 2, p. 33, 34.

and were confirmed by Mohammed, with some alterations in such points as seemed most exceptionable: thus, for example, he ordered that when they compassed the Caaba, they should be *clothed*¹; whereas before his time they performed that piece of devotion *naked*, throwing off their clothes as a mark that they had cast off their sins², or as signs of their disobedience towards God³.

It is also acknowledged that the greater part of these rites are of no intrinsic worth, neither affecting the soul, nor agreeing with natural reason, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind, without any farther view; and are therefore to be complied with, not that they are good in themselves, but because God has so appointed⁴. Some, however, have endeavoured to find out some reasons for the arbitrary injunctions of this kind; and one writer⁵, supposing men ought to imitate the heavenly bodies, not only in their purity, but in their circular motion, seems to argue the profession round the Caaba to be therefore a rational practice. Reland⁶ has observed that the Romans had something like this in their worship, being ordered by Numa to use a circular motion in the adoration of the gods, either to represent the orbicular motion of the world, or the perfecting the whole office of prayer to that God who is maker of the universe, or else in allusion to the Egyptian wheels, which were hieroglyphics of the instability of human fortune⁷.

The pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies prescribed to those who perform it, are, perhaps, liable to greater exception than any other of Mohammed's

¹ Kor. chap. 7. ² Al Faïk, de Tempore Ignor. Arabum, apud Millium de Mohammedsimo ante Moh. p. 322. Compare Isaiah lxiv. 6.
³ Jallal. al Beid. This notion comes very near, if it be not the same, with that of the Adamites. ⁴ Al Ghazâlî. V. Abulfar. Hist. Dyn. p. 171. ⁵ Abu Jáafar Ebn Tofail, in Vita Hai Ebn Yokdhân, p. 151. See Mr. Ockley's English translation thereof, p. 117. ⁶ De Rel. Mah. p. 123. ⁷ Plutarch. in Numa.

institutions ; not only as silly and ridiculous in themselves, but as relics of idolatrous superstition ¹. Yet whoever seriously considers how difficult it is to make people submit to the abolishing of ancient customs, how unreasonable soever, which they are fond of, especially where the interest of a considerable party is also concerned, and that a man may with less danger change many things than one great one ², must excuse Mohammed's yielding some points of less moment, to gain the principal. The temple of Mecca was held in excessive veneration by all the Arabs in general (if we except only the tribes of Tay, and Khatháam, and some of the posterity of al Hareth Ebn Caab ³, who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto), and especially by those of Mecca, who had a particular interest to support that veneration ; and as the most silly and insignificant things are generally the objects of the greatest superstition, Mohammed found it much easier to abolish idolatry itself than to eradicate the superstitious bigotry with which they were addicted to that temple, and the rites performed there : wherefore, after several fruitless trials to wean them therefrom ⁴, he thought it best to compromise the matter, and, rather than to frustrate his whole design, to allow them to go on pilgrimage thither, and to direct their prayers thereto ; contenting himself with transferring the devotions there paid from their idols to the true God, and changing such circumstances therein as he judged might give scandal. And herein he followed the example of the most famous legislators, who instituted not such laws as were absolutely the best in themselves, but the best their people were capable of receiving : and we find God himself had the same condescendence for

¹ Maimonides (in Epist. ad Prosel. Rel.) pretends that the worship of Mercury was performed by throwing of stones, and that of Chemosh by making bare the head, and putting on unsewn garments. ² According to the maxim, *Tutius est multa mutare quam unum magnam.* ³ Al Shahrestáni. ⁴ See Kor. chap. 2, p. 24.

the Jews, whose hardness of heart he humoured in many things, giving them therefore *statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*¹.

SECTION V.

Of certain negative Precepts in the Korân.

HAVING in the preceding section spoken of the fundamental points of the Mohammedan religion, relating both to faith and to practice, I shall, in this and the two following discourses, speak in the same brief method of some other precepts and institutions of the Korân which deserve peculiar notice, and first of certain things which are thereby prohibited.

The drinking of wine, under which name all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, is forbidden in the Korân in more places than one². Some, indeed, have imagined that only excess therein is forbidden, and that the moderate use of wine is allowed by two passages in the same book³: but the more received opinion is, that to drink any strong liquors, either in a lesser quantity or in a greater, is absolutely unlawful; and though libertines indulge themselves in the contrary practice⁴, yet the more conscientious are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca⁵, that they hold it unlawful not only to taste wine, but to press grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising by the

¹ Ezek. xx. 25. V. Spencer, de Urin and Thummim, cap. 4, § 7. ² See Chap. 2, p. 36, and chap. 5. ³ Chap. 2, p. 36, and chap. 16. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 696. ⁴ V. Smith, de Morib. et Instit. Turcar. Ep. 2, p. 28, &c. ⁵ V. Chardin, ubi supra, p. 212.

sale of that liquor. The Persians, however, as well as the Turks, are very fond of wine; and if one asks them how it comes to pass that they venture to drink it, when it is so directly forbidden by their religion, they answer, that it is with them as with the Christians, whose religion prohibits drunkenness and whoredom as great sins, and who glory, notwithstanding, some in debauching girls and married women, and others in drinking to excess¹.

It has been a question whether coffee comes not under the above-mentioned prohibition², because the fumes of it have some effect on the imagination. This drink, which was first publicly used at Aden, in Arabia Felix, about the middle of the ninth century of the Hejra, and thence gradually introduced into Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Levant, has been the occasion of great disputes and disorders, having been sometimes publicly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed³. At present the use of coffee is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is that of *tobacco*, though the more religious make a scruple of taking the latter, not only because it inebriates, but also out of respect to a traditional saying of their prophet (which, if it could be made out to be his, would prove him a prophet indeed), *That in the latter days there should be men who should bear the name of Moslems, but should not be really such; and that they should smoke a certain weed, which should be called TOBACCO*: however, the eastern nations are generally so addicted to both, that they say, *a dish of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment*; and the Persians have a proverb, that *coffee without tobacco is meat without salt*⁴.

¹ Chardin, ubi sup. p. 344.

² Abd'alkâder Mohammed al Ansâri has written a treatise concerning coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulness. V. D'Herbel. Art. Cahvah.

³ V. Le Traité Historique de l'Origine et du Progrès du Café à la Fin du Voy. de l'Arabie Heureuse, de la Roque.

⁴ Reland, Dissert. Miscell. T. 2, p. 280. V. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, T. 2, p. 14, and 66.

Opium and beng (which latter is the leaves of hemp in pills or conserve) are also by the rigid Mohammedans esteemed unlawful, though not mentioned in the Korân, because they intoxicate and disturb the understanding as wine does, and in a more extraordinary manner: yet these drugs are now commonly taken in the east; but they who are addicted to them are generally looked upon as debauchees¹.

Several stories have been told as the occasion of Mohammed's prohibiting the drinking of wine²: but the true reasons are given in the Korân, *viz.* because the ill qualities of that liquor surpass its good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and disturbances in company, and neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties³. For these reasons it was, that the priests were, by the Levitical law, forbidden to drink wine or strong drink when they entered the tabernacle⁴, and that the Nazarites⁵ and Rechabites⁶, and many pious persons among the Jews and primitive Christians, wholly abstained therefrom; nay, some of the latter went so far as to condemn the use of wine as sinful⁷. But Mohammed is said to have had a nearer example than any of these, in the more devout persons of his own tribe⁸.

Gaming is prohibited by the Korân⁹ in the same passages, and for the same reasons, as wine. The word *al Meisar*, which is there used, signifies a particular manner of casting lots by arrows, much practised by the pagan Arabs, and performed in the following manner. A young camel being bought and killed, and divided into ten, or twenty-

¹ V. Chardin, *ibid.* p. 68, &c. and D'Herbel. p. 200. ² V. Prid. Life of Mah. p. 32, &c. Busbeq. Epist. 3. p. 255, and Maundeville's Travels, p. 170. ³ Kor. chap. 2, p. 36, chap. 5. and chap. 4. p. 93. See Prov. xxiii. 29, &c. ⁴ Levit. x. 9. ⁵ Numb. vi. 2. ⁶ Jerem. xxxv. 5, &c. ⁷ This was the heresy of those called Encratitæ, and Aquarij. Khwâf, a Magian heretic, also declared wine unlawful; but this was after Mohammed's time. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 300. ⁸ V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 271. ⁹ Chap. 2. p. 36. chap. 5.

eight parts, the persons who cast lots for them, to the number of seven, met for that purpose; and eleven arrows were provided, without heads of feathers, seven of which were marked, the first with one notch, the second with two, and so on, and the other four had no mark at all¹; these arrows were put promiscuously into a bag, and then drawn by an indifferent person, who had another near him to receive them, and to see he acted fairly; those to whom the marked arrows fell won shares in proportion to their lot, and those to whom the blanks fell were entitled to no part of the camel at all, but were obliged to pay the full price of it. The winners, however, tasted not of the flesh, any more than the losers, but the whole was distributed among the poor; and this they did out of pride and ostentation, it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion². This custom, therefore, though it was of some use to the poor, and diversion to the rich, was forbidden by Mohammed³, as the source of greater inconveniences, by occasioning quarrels and heart-burnings, which arose from the winners insulting of those who lost.

Under the name of *lots* the commentators agree that all other games whatsoever, which are subject to hazard or chance, are comprehended and forbidden; as dice, cards, tables, &c. And they are reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimony of him who plays at them is, by the more rigid judged, to be of no validity in a court of justice. Chess is almost the only game which the Mohammedan doctors allow to be lawful (though it has been a doubt with some⁴), because it depends wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance: but then it is

¹ Some writers, as al Zamakh. and al Shirâzi, mention but three blank arrows.

² Auctores Nodhm al dorr, and Nothr al dorr, al Zamakh. al Firauzabâdi, al Shirâzi in Orat. al Hariri, al Beidâwi, &c. V. Poc. Spec. p. 324, &c.

³ Korân, chap. 5. p. 177.

⁴ V. Hyde, de Ludis Oriental. in Proleg. ad Shahiludium.

allowed under certain restrictions, viz. that it be no hinderance to the regular performance of their devotions, and that no money or other thing be played for or betted; which last the Turks and Sonnites religiously observe, but the Persians and Mogols do not¹. But what Mohammed is supposed chiefly to have disliked in the game of chess, was the carved pieces, or men, with which the Pagan Arabs played, being little figures of men, elephants, horses, and dromedaries²; and these are thought, by some commentators, to be truly meant by the *images* prohibited in one of the passages of the Korân³ quoted above. That the Arabs in Mohammed's time actually used such images for chessmen appears from what is related, in the Sonna, of Ali, who passing accidentally by some who were playing at chess, asked, *What images they were which they were so intent upon*⁴? for they were perfectly new to him, that game having been but very lately introduced into Arabia, and not long before into Persia, whither it was first brought from India in the reign of Khosrû Nûshirwân⁵. Hence the Mohammedan doctors infer that the game was disapproved only for the sake of the images: wherefore the Sonnites always play with plain pieces of wood or ivory; but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, continue to make use of the carved ones⁶.

The Mohammedans comply with the prohibition of gaming much better than they do with that of wine; for though the common people, among the Turks more frequently, and the Persians more rarely, are addicted to play, yet the better sort are seldom guilty of it⁷.

Gaming, at least to excess, has been forbidden in

¹ V. Eund. *ibid.* p. 135, &c.

² V. Eundem, *ibid.* and in Hist. Shahiludij, Chap. 5.

Auctor libri al Mostatraf, apud Hyde, ubi sup. p. 8.

⁴ Sokeiker al Dimishki, and

⁵ Khondemir, apud

eund. *ib.* p. 41.

⁶ V. Hyde, ubi sup. p. 9.

⁷ V. eundem,

in Proleg. and Chardin, Voy. de Perse, T. 2. p. 46.

all well-ordered states. Gaming-houses were reckoned scandalous places among the Greeks, and a gamester is declared by Aristotle¹ to be no better than a *thief*: the Roman senate made very severe laws against playing at games of hazard, except only during the *Saturnalia*; though the people played often at other times, notwithstanding the prohibition: the civil law forbade all pernicious games³; and though the laity were, in some cases, permitted to play for money, provided they kept within reasonable bounds, yet the clergy were forbidden to play at *tables* (which is a game of hazard), or even to look on while others played⁴. Accursius, indeed, is of opinion they may play at chess, notwithstanding that law, because it is a game not subject to chance⁵, and being but newly invented in the time of Justinian, was not then known in the western parts. However the monks for some time were not allowed even chess⁶.

As to the Jews, Mohammed's chief guides, they also highly disapprove gaming: gamesters being severely censured in the Talmud, and their testimony declared invalid⁷.

Another practice of the idolatrous Arabs, forbidden also in one of the above-mentioned passages⁸, was that of *divining by arrows*. The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Seven such arrows were kept at the temple of Mecca⁹; but generally in divination they made use of three only, on one of which was

¹ Lib. 4. ad Nicom. ² V. Horat. l. 3. Carm. Od. 24. ³ De Aleatoribus. Novell. Just. 123, &c. V. Hyde, ubi sup. in Hist. Aleæ, p. 119.
⁴ Authent. interdicimus, c. de episcopis. ⁵ In Com. ad Legem Præd.
⁶ Du Fresne, in Gloss. ⁷ Bava Mesia, 34. l. 1. Rosh hashana, and Sanhedr. 24. 2. V. etiam Maimon. in Tract. Gezila. Among the modern civilians, Mascardus thought common gamesters were not to be admitted as witnesses, being infamous persons. V. Hyde, ubi sup. in Proleg. et in Hist. Aleæ, § III.
⁸ Kor. chap. 5. ⁹ See before, p. 27.

written, *My Lord hath commanded me*; on another, *My Lord hath forbidden me*; and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprise in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like¹. This superstitious practice of divining by arrows was used by the ancient Greeks², and other nations; and is particularly mentioned in scripture³, where it is said, that “the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he made his arrows bright,” (or, according to the version of the vulgate, which seems preferable in this place, *he mixed together*, or *shook the arrows*), *he consulted with images*, &c. : the commentary of St. Jerome on which passage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the aforesaid custom of the old Arabs: “He shall stand,” says he, “in the highway, and consult the oracle after the manner of his nation, that he may cast arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being written upon or marked with the names of each people, that he may see whose arrow will come forth, and which city he ought first to attack⁴.”

A distinction of meats was so generally used by the eastern nations, that it is no wonder that Mohammed made some regulations in that matter. The Korân, therefore, prohibits the eating of blood, and swine’s flesh, and whatever dies of itself, or is slain in the name or in honour of any idol, or is

¹ Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh. and al Beid. in Kor. c. 5. Al Mostatraf, &c. V. Poc. Spec. p. 327, &c. and D’Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Acdâh. ² V. Potter, Antiq. of Greece. Vol. 1. p. 334. ³ Ezek. xxi. 21. ⁴ V. Poc. Spec. p. 329, &c.

strangled, or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beast¹. In which particulars Mohammed seems chiefly to have imitated the Jews, by whose law, as is well known, all those things are forbidden; but he allowed some things to be eaten which Moses did not², as camel's flesh³ in particular. In cases of necessity, however, where a man may be in danger of starving, he is allowed by the Mohammedan law to eat any of the said prohibited kinds of food⁴; and the Jewish doctors grant the same liberty in the like case⁵. Though the aversion to blood and what dies of itself may seem natural, yet some of the Pagan Arabs used to eat both: of their eating of the latter some instances will be given hereafter; and as to the former, it is said they used to pour blood, which they sometimes drew from a live camel, into a gut, and then broiled it on the fire, or boiled it, and ate it⁶: this food they called *moswadd*, from *aswad*, which signifies *black*; the same nearly resembling our *black-puddings* in name as well as composition⁷. The eating of meat offered to idols I take to be commonly practised by all idolaters, being looked on as a sort of communion in their worship, and for that reason esteemed by Christians, if not absolutely unlawful, yet as what may be the occasion of great scandal⁸: but the Arabs were particularly superstitious in this matter, killing what they ate on stones erected on purpose round the Caaba, or near their own houses, and calling, at the same time, on the name of some idol⁹. Swine's flesh, indeed, the old Arabs seem not to have eaten; and their prophet, in prohibiting the same, appears to have only confirmed the common aversion of the nation.

¹ Chap. 2, p. 28. chap. 5. p. 117. chap. 6. and chap. 16.

² Lev. xi. 4.

³ See Kor. chap. 3. pp. 60, 67, and chap. 6.

⁴ Kor. chap. 5. p. 117.

and in the other passages last quoted.

⁵ V. Maimon. in Halachoth

Melachim. chap. 8. § 1, &c.

⁶ Nothr. al dorr, al Firauz, al Zamakh.

and al Beid.

⁷ Poc. Spec. p. 320.

⁸ Compare Acts xv. 29, with

1 Cor. viii. 40. &c.

⁹ See the fifth chap. of the Kor. p. 116. and the notes

there.

Foreign writers tell us that the Arabs wholly abstained from swine's flesh¹, thinking it unlawful to feed thereon², and that very few, if any, of those animals are found in their country, because it produces not proper food for them³; which has made one writer imagine that if a hog were carried thither, it would immediately die⁴.

In the prohibition of usury⁵ I presume Mohammed also followed the Jews, who are strictly forbidden by their law to exercise it among one another, though they are so infamously guilty of it in their dealing with those of a different religion: but I do not find the prophet of the Arabs has made any distinction in this matter.

Several superstitious customs relating to cattle, which seem to have been peculiar to the Pagan Arabs, were also abolished by Mohammed. The Korân⁶ mentions four names by them given to certain camels or sheep, which for some particular reasons were left at free liberty, and were not made use of as other cattle of the same kind. These names are Bahîra, Saïba, Wasîla, and Hâmi: of each whereof in their order.

As to the first it is said that when a she-camel, or a sheep, had borne young ten times, they used to slit her ear, and turn her loose to feed at full liberty; and when she died, her flesh was eaten by the men only, the women being forbidden to eat thereof: and such a camel or sheep, from the *slitting of her ear*, they called Bahîra. Or the Bahîra was a she-camel, which was turned loose to feed, and whose fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiscuously; but if it proved a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being permitted to make use of

¹ Solin. de Arab. cap. 33.

² Hieronym. in Jovin. l. 2. c. 6.

³ Id. ib.

⁴ Solinus, ubi supra.

⁵ Kor. chap. 2. p. 48, 49.

⁶ Chap. 5.

its flesh or milk, or to ride on it; though the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it, when it died: or it was the female young of the Sâiba, which was used in the same manner as its dam; or else an ewe, which had yeaned five times¹. These, however, are not all the opinions concerning the Bahîra: for some suppose that name was given to a she-camel, which after having brought forth young five times (if the last was a male), had her ear slit, as a mark thereof, and was let go loose to feed, none driving her from pasture or water, nor using her for carriage²; and others tell us, that when a camel had newly brought forth, they used to slit the ear of her young one, saying, "O God, if it live, it shall be for our use, but if it die, it shall be deemed rightly slain;" and when it died, they ate it³.

Sâiba signifies a she-camel *turned loose to go where she will*. And this was done on various accounts: as when she had brought forth females ten times together; or in satisfaction of a vow; or when a man had recovered from sickness, or returned safe from a journey, or his camel had escaped some signal danger either in battle or otherwise. A camel so turned loose was declared to be Sâiba, and, as a mark of it, one of the *vertebræ* or bones was taken out of her back, after which none might drive her from pasture or water, or ride on her⁴. Some say that the Sâiba, when she had ten times together brought forth females, was suffered to go at liberty, none being allowed to ride on her, and that her milk was not to be drank by any but her young one, or a guest, till she died; and then her flesh was eaten by men as well as women, and her last female young one had her ear slit, and was called Bahîra, and turned loose as her dam had been⁵.

This appellation, however, was not so strictly proper to female camels, but that it was given to

¹ Al Firauzabâdi.
al Athîr.

² Al Zamakh. al Beidâwi, al Mostatraf.

⁴ Al Firauzab. al Zamakh.

³ Ebn
⁵ Al Jawhari. Ebn al Athîr.

the male when his young one had begotten another young one¹: nay a servant set at liberty and dismissed by his master was also called Sâiba²; and some are of opinion that the word denotes any animal which the Arabs used to turn loose in honour of their idols, allowing none to make use of them thereafter, except women only³.

Wasîla is, by one author⁴, explained to signify a she-camel which had brought forth ten times, or an ewe which had yeaned seven times, and every time twins; and if the seventh time she brought forth a male and a female, they said, Wosilat akhâha, i. e. *She is joined, or was brought forth with her brother*, after which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only; and she was used as the Sâiba. Or Wasîla was particularly meant of sheep; as when an ewe brought forth a female, they took it to themselves, but when she brought forth a male, they consecrated it to their gods, but if both a male and a female, they said, *She is joined to her brother*, and did not sacrifice that male to their gods: or Wasila was an ewe which brought forth first a male, and then a female, on whose account, or because *she followed her brother*, the male was not killed; but if she brought forth a male only, they said, *Let this be an offering to our gods*⁵. Another⁶ writes, that if an ewe brought forth twins seven times together, and the eighth time a male, they sacrificed that male to their gods; but if the eighth time she brought both a male and a female, they used to say, *She is joined to her brother*, and for the female's sake they spared the male, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drank by women. A third writer tells us, that Wasîla was an ewe, which having yeaned seven times, if that which she brought forth the seventh time was a male, they sacrificed it, but if a female, it was suffered to go loose, and was made use of by

¹ Al Firauz.
al dorr.

² Idem, al Jawhari, &c.

⁴ Al Firauz.

⁵ Idem, al Zamakh.

³ Nothr al dorr, and Nodhm
⁶ Al Jawhari.

women only; and if the seventh time she brought forth both a male and a female, they held them both to be sacred, so that men only were allowed to make any use of them, or to drink the milk of the female: and a fourth¹ describes it to be an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births one after another, i. e. every time twins, and whatever she brought forth afterwards was allowed to men, and not to women, &c.

Hâmi was a male camel used for a stallion, which, if the females had conceived ten times by him, was afterwards *freed from labour*, and let go loose, none driving him from pasture or from water; nor was any allowed to receive the least benefit from him, not even to shear his hair².

These things were observed by the old Arabs in honour of their false gods³, and as part of the worship which they paid them, and were ascribed to the divine institution; but are all condemned in the Korân, and declared to be impious superstitions⁴.

The law of Mohammed also put a stop to the inhuman custom, which had been long practised by the pagan Arabs, of burying their daughters alive, lest they should be reduced to poverty by providing for them, or else to avoid the displeasure and disgrace which would follow, if they should happen to be made captives, or to become scandalous by their behaviour⁵; the birth of a daughter being, for these reasons, reckoned a great misfortune⁶, and the death of one as great a happiness⁷. The manner of their doing this is differently related: some say that when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up, he sent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or sheep in the desert; but if he designed to put her to death, he let her live till

¹ Al Motarrezî.² Al Firauz. al Jawhari.³ Jallal. in Kor.⁴ Kor. chap. 5. p. 137, and chap. 6. V. Poc. Specim. p. 330—334.⁵ Al

Beidâwi, al Zamakh. al Mostatraf.

⁶ See Korân, chap. 16.⁷ Al

Meidânî.

she became six years old, and then said to her mother, "Perfume her, and adorn her, that I may carry her to her mothers;" which being done, the father led her to a well or pit dug for that purpose, and having bid her to look down into it, pushed her in headlong, as he stood behind her, and then filling up the pit, levelled it with the rest of the ground: but others say, that when a woman was ready to fall in labour, they dug a pit, on the brink whereof she was to be delivered, and if the child happened to be a daughter, they threw it into the pit, but if a son, they saved it alive¹. This custom, though not observed by all the Arabs in general, was yet very common among several of their tribes, and particularly those of Koreish and Kendah; the former using to bury their daughters alive in mount Abu Dalâma, near Mecca². In the time of ignorance, while they used this method to get rid of their daughters, Sâsaâ, grandfather to the celebrated poet al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel; and hereto al Farazdak alluded when, vaunting himself before one of the Khalîfs of the family of Omeyya, he said, "I am the son of the giver of life to the dead;" for which expression being censured, he excused himself by alleging the following words of the Koran³, "He who saveth a soul alive shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind⁴." The Arabs, in thus murdering of their children, were far from being singular; the practice of exposing infants and putting them to death being so common among the ancients, that it is remarked as a thing very extraordinary in the Egyptians, that they brought up *all* their children⁵; and by the laws of Lycurgus⁶ no child was allowed to be brought up, without the approbation

¹ Al Zamakh. ² Al Mostatraf. ³ Chap. 5. p. 123. ⁴ Al Mostatraf. V. Ebn Khalekân, in Vita al Farazdak, and Poc. Spec. p. 334. ⁵ Strabo, l. 17. V. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. c. 80. ⁶ V. Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

of public officers. At this day, it is said, in China, the poorer sort of people frequently put their children, the females especially, to death, with impunity¹.

This wicked practice is condemned by the Koràn in several passages²; one of which, as some commentators³ judge, may also condemn another custom of the Arabians, altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, *viz.* the sacrificing of their children to their idols; as was frequently done, in particular, in satisfaction of a vow they used to make, that if they had a certain number of sons born, they would offer one of them in sacrifice.

Several other superstitious customs were likewise abrogated by Mohammed; but the same being of less moment, and not particularly mentioned in the Koràn, or having been occasionally taken notice of elsewhere, I shall say nothing of them in this place.

¹ V. Pufendorf. de Jure Nat. et Gent. l. 6. c. 7. § 6. The Grecians also treated *daughters* especially in this manner; whence that saying of Posidippus,

Ἵδὼν τρέφει τις καὶν πύργῳ ὦν τύχη,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκτίθῃσι καὶν γὰρ πλάσιος.

“A man though poor will not expose his son,
But if he’s rich, will scarce preserve his daughter.”

See Potter’s Antiq. of Greece, Vol. 2. p. 333.
and chap. 17. See also chap. 81.

² Chap. 6. chap. 16.

³ Al Zamakh. al Beid.

SECTION VI.

Of the Institutions of the Korân in Civil Affairs.

THE Mohammedan civil law is founded on the precepts and determinations of the Korân, as the civil laws of the Jews were on those of the Pentateuch; yet being variously interpreted, according to the different decisions of their civilians, and especially of their four great doctors, Abu Hanifa, Malec, al Shâfeï, and Ebn Hanbal¹, to treat thereof fully and distinctly, in the manner the curiosity and usefulness of the subject deserves, would require a large volume: wherefore the most that can be expected here is a summary view of the principal institutions, without minutely entering into a detail of particulars. We shall begin with those relating to marriage and divorce.

That *polygamy*, for the moral lawfulness of which the Mohammedan doctors advance several arguments², is allowed by the Korân, every one knows; though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed. Several learned men have fallen into the vulgar mistake, that Mohammed granted to his followers an unbounded plurality; some pretending that a man may have as many wives³, and others as many concubines⁴, as he can maintain: whereas, according to the express words

See § 8. ² See before, § II. p. 56. ³ Nic. Cusanus, in Cribrat. Alcor. l. 2. cap. 19. Olearius, in Itinerar. P. Greg. Tholosanus, in Synt. Juris, l. 9. c. 2. § 22. Septemcastrensis (de Morib. Turc. p. 24.) says the Mohammedans may have twelve lawful wives, and no more. Ricaut falsely asserts the restraint of the number of their wives to be no precept of their religion, but a rule superinduced on a politic consideration. Pres. State of the Ottoman Empire, book 3. chap. 21. ⁴ Marracc. in Prodr. ad Refut. Alcor.

of the Koran¹, no man can have more than four, whether wives or concubines²; and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice (which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people³), that he marry one only, or if he cannot be contented with one, that he take up with his she-slaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number⁴; and this is certainly the utmost Mohammed allowed his followers: nor can we urge, as an argument against so plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, especially men of quality and fortune, indulge themselves in criminal excesses⁵; nor yet the example of the prophet himself, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be observed hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, Mohammed was directed by the decision of the Jewish doctors, who, by way of counsel, limit the number of wives to four⁶, though their law confines them not to any certain number⁷.

Divorce is also well known to be allowed by the Mohammedan law, as it was by the Mosaic, with this difference only, that according to the latter a man could not take again a woman whom he had divorced, and who had been married or betrothed to another⁸; whereas Mohammed, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives on every light

part 4. p. 52, & 71. Prideaux, Life of Mah. p. 114. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, T. 1, p. 166. Du Ryer, Sommaire de la Rel. des Turcs, mis à la tête de sa version de l'Alcor. Ricaut, ubi supra. Pufendorf, de Jure Nat. et Gent. l. 6. c. 1. § 18.

¹ Chap. 4. p. 85. ² V. Gagnier, in notis ad Abulfedæ Vit. Moh. p. 150. Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 243, &c. and Selden. Ux. Hebr. l. 1. cap. 9.

³ V. Reland. ubi sup. p. 244. ⁴ Kor. chap. 4. p. 85. ⁵ Sir J. Maundeville (who, excepting a few silly stories he tells from hear-say, deserves more credit than some travellers of better reputation), speaking of the Koran, observes, among several other truths, that Mahomet therein commanded a man should have two wives, or three, or four; though the Mahometans then took nine wives, and lemans as many as they might sustain. Maundev. Travels, p. 164. ⁶ Maimon. in Halachoth Ishoth, c. 14. ⁷ Idem, ib.

V. Selden. Uxor. Hebr. l. 1. c. 9. ⁸ Deut. xxiv. 3, 4. Jerem. iii. 1. V. Selden, ubi sup. l. 1. c. 11.

occasion, or out of an inconstant humour, ordained that if a man divorced his wife the third time (for he might divorce her twice without being obliged to part with her, if he repented of what he had done), it should not be lawful for him to take her again, until she had been first married and bedded by another, and divorced by such second husband ¹. And this precaution has had so good an effect, that the Mohammedans are seldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithstanding the liberty given them; it being reckoned a great disgrace so to do: and there are but few, besides those who have little or no sense of honour, that will take a wife again, on the condition enjoined ². It must be observed that though a man is allowed by the Mohammedan, as by the Jewish law ³, to repudiate his wife even on the slightest disgust, yet the women are not allowed to separate themselves from their husbands, unless it be for ill usage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or some cause of equal import; but then she generally loses her dowry ⁴, which she does not, if divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of impudicity, or notorious disobedience ⁵.

When a woman is divorced, she is obliged, by the direction of the Korân, to wait till she hath had her courses thrice, or, if there be a doubt whether she be subject to them or not, by reason of her age, three months, before she marry another; after which time expired, in case she be found not with child, she is at full liberty to dispose of herself as she pleases; but if she prove with child, she must wait till she be delivered: and during her whole term of waiting, she may continue in the husband's house,

¹ Korân, chap. 2. p. 39. ² V. Selden. ubi sup. l. 3. cap. 21. and Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, b. 2. chap. 21. ³ Deut. xxiv. l. 1. Leo Modena, Hist. de gli Riti Hebr. part 1. c. 6. ⁴ V. Selden. ubi sup. ⁵ V. Busbeq. Ep. 3. p. 184. Smith, de Morib. ac Instit. Turcar. Ep. 2. p. 52. and Chardin, Voy. de Persc, T. 1. p. 169. ⁶ Korân, chap. 4. p. 88, 89.

and is to be maintained at his expense; it being forbidden to turn a woman out before the expiration of the term, unless she be guilty of dishonesty¹. Where a man divorces a woman before consummation, she is not obliged to wait any particular time²; nor is he obliged to give her more than one half of her dower³. If the divorced woman have a young child, she is to suckle it till it be two years old; the father, in the mean time, maintaining her in all respects: a widow is also obliged to do the same, and to wait four months and ten days before she marry again⁴.

These rules are also copied from those of the Jews, according to whom a divorced woman, or a widow, cannot marry another man till ninety days be past, after the divorce or death of the husband⁵: and she who gives suck is to be maintained for two years, to be computed from the birth of the child; within which time she must not marry, unless the child die, or her milk be dried up⁶.

Whoredom, in single women as well as married, was, in the beginning of Mohammedism, very severely punished; such being ordered to be shut up in prison till they died: but afterwards it was ordained by the Sonna, that an adulteress should be stoned⁷, and an unmarried woman guilty of fornication scourged with an hundred stripes, and banished for a year⁸. A she-slave, if convicted of adultery, is to suffer but half the punishment of a free woman⁹, viz. fifty stripes, and banishment for six months; but is not to be put to death. To convict a woman of adultery, so as to make it capital, four witnesses are

¹ Korân, chap. 2. p. 38, and 39, and chap. 65.

² Ib. chap. 33.

³ Ib. chap. 2. p. 39.

⁴ Ib. chap. 2. p. 38. and chap. 65.

⁵ Mishna,

tit. Yabimoth, c. 4. Gemar. Babyl. ad eund. tit. Maimon. in Halach. Girushin, Shylhan Aruch, c. 4. Gemar. Babyl. ad eund. tit. Maimon. ubi supra,

Gem. Babyl. ad tit. Cetuboth, c. 5. and Jos. Karo, in Shylhan Aruch, c. 50, § 2. V. Seldeni Ux. Hebr. l. 2. c. 11, and l. 3. c. 10 in fin.

⁷ And the adulterer also, according to a passage once extant in the Korân, and still in force as some suppose. See the notes to Kor. c. 3. p. 54. and the Prel. Disc. p. 92.

⁸ Kor. chap. 4. p. 88. See the notes there.

⁹ Ibid. p. 90.

expressly required¹, and those, as the commentators say, ought to be men : and if a man falsely accuse a woman of reputation of whoredom of any kind, and is not able to support the charge by that number of witnesses, he is to receive fourscore stripes, and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future². Fornication, in either sex, is by the sentence of the Korân to be punished with an hundred stripes³.

If a man accuse his wife of infidelity, and is not able to prove it by sufficient evidence, and will swear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate God's vengeance on him if it be false, she is to be looked on as convicted, unless she will take the like oaths, and make the like imprecation, in testimony of her innocency ; which if she do, she is free from punishment, though the marriage ought to be dissolved⁴.

In most of the last-mentioned particulars, the decisions of the Korân also agree with those of the Jews. By the law of Moses, adultery, whether in a married woman or a virgin betrothed, was punished with death ; and the man who debauched them was to suffer the same punishment⁵. The penalty of simple fornication was scourging, the general punishment in cases where none is particularly appointed : and a betrothed bond-maid, if convicted of adultery, underwent the same punishment, being exempted from death, *because she was not free*⁶. By the same law, no person was to be put to death on the oath

¹ Kor. ch. 4. p. 38. See notes there.

² Kor. chap. 24.

³ Ibid. This

law relates not to married people, as Selden supposes ; Ux. Heb. 1. 3. c. 12.

⁴ Ibid. See the notes there.

⁵ Lev. xx. 10. Deut. xxii. 22. The

kind of death to be inflicted on adulterers in common cases being not expressed, the Talmudists generally suppose it to be *strangling* ; which they think is designed wherever the phrase *shall be put to death*, or *shall die the death*, is used, as they imagine *stoning* is by the expression *his blood shall be upon him* : and hence it has been concluded by some, that the woman taken in adultery, mentioned in the gospel (John viii.) was a *betrothed maiden*, because such a one and her accomplice were plainly ordered to be stoned. (Deut. xxii. 23, 24.) But the ancients seem to have been of a different opinion, and to have understood stoning to be the punishment of adulterers in general. V. Selden. Ux. Hebr. 1. 3. c. 11, and 12.

⁶ Levit. xix. 20.

of one witness¹: and a man who slandered his wife was also to be *chastised*, that is scourged, and fined one hundred shekels of silver². The method of trying a woman suspected of adultery, where evidence was wanting, by forcing her to drink the bitter water of jealousy³, though disused by the Jews long before the time of Mohammed⁴, yet, by reason of the oath of cursing with which the woman was charged, and to which she was obliged to say *Amen*, bears great resemblance to the expedient devised by that prophet on the like occasion.

The institutions of Mohammed relating to the pollution of women during their courses⁵, the taking of slaves to wife⁶, and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees⁷, have likewise no small affinity with the institutions of Moses⁸; and the parallel might be carried farther in several other particulars.

As to the prohibited degrees, it may be observed, that the pagan Arabs abstained from marrying their mothers, daughters, and aunts both on the father's side and on the mother's, and held it a most scandalous thing to marry two sisters, or for a man to take his father's wife⁹; which last was notwithstanding too frequently practised¹⁰, and is expressly forbidden in the Korân¹¹.

Before I leave the subject of marriages, it may be proper to take notice of some peculiar privileges in relation thereto, which were granted by God to Mohammed, as he gave out, exclusive of all other Moslems. One of them was, that he might lawfully marry as many wives and have as many concubines as he pleased, without being confined to any particular number¹²; and this he pretended to have been

¹ Deut. xix. 15. xvii. 6, and Numb. xxxv. 30.

² Deut. xxii. 13—19.

³ Numb. v. 11, &c.

⁴ V. Selden, ubi supr. l. 3. c. 15. and Leon. Modena, de' Riti Hebraici, parte 4. c. 6.

⁵ Kor. chap. 2. p. 37.

⁶ Ib. chap.

⁷ Chap. 4. p. 85, and 90, &c.

⁸ Chap. 4. p. 89.

⁹ See Lev. xv. 24.

¹⁰ xviii. 19. and xx. 18. Exod. xxi. 8—11. Deut. xxi. 10—14. Levit. xviii. and xx.

¹¹ Abulfed. Hist. Gen. al Shahrestani, apud Poc. Spec. p. 321, and 338.

¹² V. Poc. ib. p. 337, &c.

¹³ Chap. 4. p. 89.

¹⁴ Kor. chap. 33.

See also chap. 66, and the notes there.

the privilege of the prophets before him. Another was, that he might alter the turns of his wives, and take such of them to his bed as he thought fit, without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to observe¹. A third privilege was, that no man might marry any of his wives², either such as he should divorce during his lifetime, or such as he should leave widows at his death : which last particular exactly agrees with what the Jewish doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes ; it being judged by them to be a thing very indecent, and for that reason unlawful, for another to marry either the divorced wife or the widow of a king³; and Mohammed, it seems, thought an equal respect, at least, due to the *prophetic* as to the *regal* dignity, and therefore ordered that his relicts should pass the remainder of their lives in perpetual widowhood.

The laws of the Korân concerning inheritances are also in several respects conformable to those of the Jews, though principally designed to abolish certain practices of the pagan Arabs, who used to treat widows and orphan children with great injustice, frequently denying them any share in the inheritance of their fathers or their husbands, on pretence that the same ought to be distributed among those only who were able to bear arms, and disposing of the widows, even against their consent, as part of their husbands' possessions⁴. To prevent such injuries for the future, Mohammed ordered that women should be respected, and orphans have no wrong done them ; and in particular that women should not be taken against their wills, as by right of inheritance, but should themselves be entitled to a distributive part of what their parents, husbands, and

¹ Kor. chap. 33. See the notes there. ² Kor. chap. 33. ³ Mishna, tit. Sanhedr. c. 2. and Gemar. in eund. tit. Maimon. Halachoth Melachim, c. 2. V. Selden. Ux. Hebr. l. 1. c. 10. Prid. Life of Mah. p. 118. ⁴ See chap. 4. p. 84, 86, and 88, and the notes there. V. etiam Poc. Spec. p. 337.

near relations, should leave behind them, in a certain proportion¹.

The general rule to be observed in the distribution of the deceased's estate is, that a male shall have twice as much as a female²: but to this rule there are some few exceptions; a man's parents, for example, and also his brothers and sisters, where they are entitled not to the whole, but a small part of the inheritance, being to have equal shares with one another in the distribution thereof, without making any difference on account of sex³. The particular proportions, in several cases, distinctly and sufficiently declare the intention of Mohammed; whose decisions expressed in the Korân⁴ seem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children first, and then his nearest relations.

If a man dispose of any part of his estate by will, two witnesses, at the least, are required to render the same valid; and such witnesses ought to be of his own tribe, and of the Mohammedan religion, if such can be had⁵. Though there be no express law to the contrary, yet the Mohammedan doctors reckon it very wrong for a man to give away any part of his substance from his family, unless it be in legacies for pious uses; and even in that case a man ought not to give all he has in charity, but only a reasonable part in proportion to his substance. On the other hand, though a man make no will, and bequeath nothing for charitable uses, yet the heirs are directed, on the distribution of the estate, if the value will permit, to bestow something on the poor, especially such as are of kin to the deceased, and to the orphans⁶.

The first law, however, laid down by Mohammed touching inheritances was not very equitable; for he declared that those who had fled with him from

¹ Kor. chap. 4. ubi supra.
de Perse, T. 2. p. 293.

² Ibid. p. 86, and 115. V. Chardin, Voy.

³ Kor. Ibid. p. 86, 87.

⁴ Ibid. and p. 115.

⁵ Kor. chap. 5. p. 138.

⁶ Kor. chap. 4. p. 86.

Mecca, and those who had received and assisted him at Medina, should be deemed the nearest of kin, and consequently heirs to one another, preferably to and in exclusion of their relations by blood; nay, though a man were a true believer, yet if he had not fled his country for the sake of religion and joined the prophet, he was to be looked on as a stranger¹: but this law continued not long in force, being quickly abrogated².

It must be observed that among the Moham-medans the children of their concubines or slaves are esteemed as equally legitimate with those of their legal and ingenuous wives; none being accounted bastards, except such only as are born of common women, and whose fathers are unknown.

As to private contracts between man and man, the conscientious performance of them is frequently recommended in the Korân³. For the preventing of disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses⁴; and in case such contracts are not immediately executed, the same ought to be reduced into writing in the presence of two witnesses⁵ at least, who ought to be Moslems and of the male sex; but if two men cannot be conveniently had, then one man and two women may suffice: the same method is also directed to be taken for the security of debts to be paid at a future day; and where a writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken⁶. Hence, if people trust one another without writing, witnesses, or pledge, the party on whom the demand is made is always acquitted if he denies the charge on oath, and swears that he owes the plaintiff nothing, unless the contrary be proved by very convincing circumstances^d.

¹ Chap. 8. ² Ibid. and chap. 33. ³ Chap. 5. p. 116.
chap. 17. chap. 2. p. 49, &c. ⁴ Chap. 2. p. 49. ⁵ The
same seems to have been required by the Jewish law, even in cases where life
was not concerned. See Deut. xix. 15. Matth. xviii. 16. John viii. 17. 2 Cor.
xiii. 1. ⁶ Kor. c. 2. p. 50. ⁷ V. Chardin, Voy. de Perse,
T. 2. p. 294, &c. and the notes to Kor. chap. 5. p. 138.

Wilful murder, though forbidden by the Korân under the severest penalties to be inflicted in the next life¹, is yet by the same book allowed to be compounded for, on payment of a fine to the family of the deceased, and freeing a Moslem from captivity: but it is in the election of the next of kin, or the *revenger of blood*, as he is called in the Pentateuch, either to accept of such satisfaction, or to refuse it; for he may, if he pleases, insist on having the murderer delivered into his hands, to be put to death in such manner as he shall think fit². In this particular Mohammed has gone against the express letter of the Mosaic law, which declares that no satisfaction shall be taken for the life of a murderer³; and he seems, in so doing, to have had respect to the customs of the Arabs in his time, who, being of a vindictive temper, used to revenge murder in too unmerciful a manner⁴, whole tribes frequently engaging in bloody wars on such occasions, the natural consequence of their independency, and having no common judge or superior.

If the Mohammedan laws seem light in case of murder, they may perhaps be deemed too rigorous in case of manslaughter, or the killing of a man undesignedly; which must be redeemed by fine (unless the next of kin shall think fit to remit it out of charity), and the freeing of a captive: but if a man be not able to do this, he is to fast two months together, by way of penance⁵. The fine for a man's blood is set in the Sonna at a hundred camels⁶; and is to be distributed among the relations of the deceased, according to the laws of inheritances; but it must be observed, that though the person slain be a Moslem, yet if he be of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy with those to whom the slayer

¹ Kor. ch. 4. p. 102.
din, ubi sup. p. 299, &c.

² Chap. 2. p. 28, 29. chap. 17. V. Char-

³ Numb. xxxv. 31.

⁴ This is par-

ticularly forbidden in the Korân, chap. 17.

⁵ Kor. chap. 4. p. 102.

⁶ See the notes to chap. 37.

belongs, he is not then bound to pay any fine at all ; the redeeming a captive being, in such case, declared a sufficient penalty¹. I imagine that Mohammed, by these regulations, laid so heavy a punishment on involuntary manslaughter, not only to make people beware incurring the same, but also to humour, in some degree, the revengeful temper of his countrymen, which might be with difficulty, if at all, prevailed on to accept a lighter satisfaction. Among the Jews, who seem to have been no less addicted to revenge than their neighbours, the manslayer who had escaped to a city of refuge was obliged to keep himself within that city, and to abide there till the death of the person who was high priest at the time the fact was committed, that his absence and time might cool the passion and mitigate the resentment of the friends of the deceased ; but if he quitted his asylum before that time, the revenger of blood, if he found him, might kill him without guilt² ; nor could any satisfaction be made for the slayer to return home before the prescribed time³.

Theft is ordered to be punished by cutting off the offending part, the hand⁴ ; which, at first sight, seems just enough : but the law of Justinian, forbidding a thief to be maimed⁵, is more reasonable ; because stealing being generally the effect of indigence, to cut off that limb would be to deprive him of the means of getting his livelihood in an honest manner⁶. The Sonna forbids the inflicting of this punishment, unless the thing stolen be of a certain value. I have mentioned in another place the further penalties which those incur who continue to steal, and of those who rob or assault people on the road⁷.

As to injuries done to men in their persons, the

¹ Kor. chap. 4. p. 102. ² See Numb. xxxv. 26, 27, 28. ³ Ibid. ver. 32. ⁴ Korân, chap. 5. p. 124. ⁵ Novell. 134. c. 13. ⁶ V. Pufendorf, de Jure Nat. et Gent. l. 8. c. 3. § 26. ⁷ See the notes to chap. 5. p. 124.

law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of Moses¹, is also approved by the Korân²: but this law, which seems to have been allowed by Mohammed to his Arabians for the same reason as it was to the Jews, viz. to prevent particular revenges, to which both nations were extremely addicted³, being neither strictly just, nor practicable in many cases, is seldom put in execution, the punishment being generally turned into a mulct or fine, which is paid to the party injured⁴. Or rather Mohammed designed the words of the Korân relating thereto should be understood in the same manner as those of the Pentateuch most probably ought to be; that is, not of an actual retaliation, according to the strict literal meaning, but of a retribution proportionable to the injury: for a criminal had not his eyes put out, nor was a man mutilated, according to the law of Moses, which, besides, condemned those who had wounded any person, where death did not ensue, to pay a fine only⁵; the expression *eye for eye, and tooth for tooth*, being only a proverbial manner of speaking, the sense whereof amounts to this, *That every one shall be punished by the judges, according to the heinousness of the fact*⁶.

In injuries and crimes of an inferior nature, where no particular punishment is provided by the Korân, and where a pecuniary compensation will not do, the Mohammedans, according to the practice of the Jews in the like case⁷, have recourse to *stripes* or *drubbing*, the most common chastisement used in the east at this day, as well as formerly; the cudgel, which, for its virtue and efficacy in keeping their people in good

¹ Exod. xxi. 24, &c. Levit. xxiv. 20. Deut. xix. 21. ² Chap. 5. p. 126. ³ V. Grotium, de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. 1. c. 2. § 3. ⁴ V. Charadin, T. 2. p. 299. The *talio*, likewise established among the old Romans by the laws of the twelve tables, was not to be inflicted, unless the delinquent could not agree with the person injured. V. A. Gell. Noct. Attic. l. 20. c. 1. and Festum, in voce *talio*. ⁵ See Exod. xxi. 18, 19, and 22. ⁶ Barbeyrac, in Grot. ubi supra. V. Cleric. in Exod. xxi. 24, and Deut. xix. 21. ⁷ See Deut. xxv. 2, 3.

order, and within the bounds of duty, they say came down from heaven, being the instrument wherewith the judge's sentence is generally executed¹.

Notwithstanding the Korân is by the Moham-medans in general regarded as the fundamental part of their civil law, and the decisions of the Sonna, among the Turks, and of the Imâms, among those of the Persian sect, with the explications of their several doctors, are usually followed in judicial determinations, yet the secular tribunals do not think themselves bound to observe the same in all cases, but frequently give judgment against those decisions, which are not always consonant to equity and reason ; and therefore distinction is to be made between the written civil law, as administered in the ecclesiastical courts, and the law of nature or common law (if I may so call it) which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side².

Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of warring against infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the Korân³, and declared to be of high merit in the sight of God, those who are slain fighting in defence of the faith being reckoned *martyrs*, and promised immediate admission into paradise⁴. Hence this duty is greatly magnified by the Mohammedan divines, who call the sword the *key of heaven and hell*, and persuade their people that the least drop of blood spilt *in the way of God*, as it is called, is most acceptable unto him, and that the defending the territories of the Moslems for one night is more meritorious than a fast of two months⁵: on the other hand, desertion, or refusing to serve in these holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is ac-

¹ V. Grelot, Voy. de Constant. p. 220, and Chardin, ubi supra, p. 302.

² V. Chardin, ubi supra, p. 290, &c.

³ Chap. 22. chap. 2, p. 32. chap. 4,

p. 98, &c. chap. 8. chap. 9. chap. 47. and chap. 61, &c. ⁴ Chap. 2, p. 26.

chap. 3, p. 73, 78. chap. 47. and chap. 61.

⁵ Reland. de Jure Milit. Mo-

ham. p. 5, &c.

counted a most heinous crime, being frequently de-claimed against in the Korân¹. Such a doctrine, which Mohammed ventured not to teach till his circumstances enabled him to put it in practice², it must be allowed, was well calculated for his purpose, and stood him and his successors in great stead : for what dangers and difficulties may not be despised and overcome by the courage and constancy which these sentiments necessarily inspire? Nor have the Jews and Christians, how much soever they detest such principles in others, been ignorant of the force of enthusiastic heroism, or omitted to spirit up their respective partisans by the like arguments and promises. “ Let him who has listed himself *in defence of the law*,” says Maimonides³, “ rely on him who is the hope of Israel, and the saviour thereof in the time of trouble⁴; and let him know that he fights for the profession of the divine unity : wherefore let him put his life in his hand⁵, and think neither of wife nor children, but banish the memory of them from his heart, having his mind wholly fixed on the war. For if he should begin to waver in his thoughts, he would not only confound himself, but sin against the law ; nay the blood of the whole people hangeth on his neck : for if they are discomfited, and he has not fought stoutly with all his might, it is equally the same as if he had shed the blood of them all ; according to that saying, let him return, lest his brethrens’ heart fail as his own⁶. To the same purpose doth the Kabala accommodate that other passage, Cursed be he who doth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be he who keepeth back his sword from blood⁷. On the contrary, he who behaveth bravely in battle, to the utmost of his endeavour, without trembling, with intent to glorify God’s name, he ought to expect the victory with confidence, and to

¹ V. chap. 9. and chap. 3, p. 74, &c. Melachim, c. 7.

⁴ Jerem. xiv. 8.

⁷ Jerem. xlviii. 10.

² See before, p. 66.

⁵ Job xiii. 14.

³ Halach.

⁶ Deut. xx. 8.

apprehend no danger or misfortune, but may be assured that he will have a house built him in Israel, appropriated to him and his children for ever; as it is said, God shall certainly make my lord a sure house, because he hath fought the battles of the Lord, and his life shall be bound up in the bundle of life with the Lord his God¹." More passages of this kind might be produced from the Jewish writers; and the Christians come not far behind them. "We are desirous of knowing," says one² writing to the Franks engaged in the holy war, "the charity of you all; for that every one (which we speak not because we wish it) who shall faithfully lose his life in this warfare shall be by no means denied the kingdom of heaven:" And another³ gives the following exhortation; "Laying aside all fear and dread, endeavour to act effectually against the enemies of the holy faith, and the adversaries of all religions: for the Almighty knoweth, if any of you die, that he dieth for the truth of the faith, and the salvation of his country, and the defence of Christians; and therefore he shall obtain of him a celestial reward." The Jews, indeed, had a divine commission, extensive and explicit enough, to attack, subdue, and destroy the enemies of their religion; and Mohammed pretended to have received one in favour of himself and his Moslems, in terms equally plain and full; and therefore it is no wonder that they should act consistently with their avowed principles: but that Christians should teach and practise a doctrine so opposite to the temper and whole tenour of the gospel, seems very strange; and yet the latter have carried matters farther, and shown a more violent spirit of intolerance, than either of the former.

The laws of war according to the Mohammedans have been already so exactly set down by the learned

¹ 1 Sam. xxv. 28, 29.
quæst. 5.

² Nicolaus, in Jure Canon. c. Omnium, 23.
³ Leo IV. ib. quæst. 8.

Reland¹, that I need say very little of them. I shall therefore only observe some conformity between their military laws and those of the Jews.

While Mohammedism was in its infancy, the opposers thereof taken in battle were doomed to death, without mercy; but this was judged too severe to be put in practice when that religion came to be sufficiently established, and past the danger of being subverted by its enemies². The same sentence was pronounced not only against the seven Canaanitish nations³, whose possessions were given to the Israelites, and without whose destruction, in a manner, they could not have settled themselves in the country designed them, but against the Amalekites⁴ and Midianites⁵, who had done their utmost to cut them off in their passage thither. When the Mohammedans declare war against people of a different faith, they give them their choice of three offers, *viz.* either to embrace Mohammedism, in which case they become not only secure in their persons, families, and fortunes, but entitled to all the privileges of other Moslems; or to submit and pay tribute⁶, by doing which they are allowed to profess their own religion, provided it be not gross idolatry, or against the moral law; or else to decide the quarrel by the sword, in which last case, if the Moslems prevail, the women and children which are made captives become absolute slaves, and the men taken in the battle may either be slain, unless they turn Mohammedans, or otherwise disposed of at the pleasure of the prince⁷. Herewith agree the laws of war given to the Jews, which relate to the nations not devoted to destruction⁸; and Joshua is said to have sent even to the inhabitants of Canaan, before he entered the land,

¹ In his treatise *De Jure Militari Mohammedanor.* in the third vol. of his *Dissertationes Miscellanæ.*

² See Kor. chap. 47, and the notes there; and chap. 4, p. 102. chap. 5. p. 124.

³ Deut. xx. 16—18.

⁴ Ib. chap. xxv.

⁵ Numb. xxxi. 17.

⁶ See chap. 9, and the notes there.

⁷ See the notes to chap. 47.

⁸ Deut. xx. 10—15.

three schedules, in one of which was written, *Let him fly, who will*; in the second, *Let him surrender, who will*; and in the third, *Let him fight, who will*¹; though none of those nations made peace with the Israelites (except only the Gibeonites, who obtained terms of security by stratagem, after they had refused those offered by Joshua), *it being of the Lord to harden their hearts, that he might destroy them utterly*².

On the first considerable success of Mohammed in war, the dispute which happened among his followers, in relation to the dividing of the spoil, rendered it necessary for him to make some regulation therein: he therefore pretended to have received the divine commission to distribute the spoil among his soldiers at his own discretion³, reserving thereout, in the first place, one fifth part⁴ for the uses after mentioned; and in consequence hereof, he took himself to be authorized on extraordinary occasions to distribute it as he thought fit, without observing an equality. Thus he did, for example, with the spoil of the tribe of Hawâzen taken at the battle of Honein, which he bestowed by way of presents on the Meccans only, passing by those of Medina, and highly distinguishing the principal Korashites, that he might ingratiate himself with them, after he had become master of their city⁵. He was also allowed in the expedition against those of al Nadir to take the whole booty to himself, and to

¹ Talmud. Hierosol. apud Maimonid. Halach. Melachim, c. 6. § 5. R. Bechai, ex lib. Siphre. V. Selden. de Jure Nat. et Gent. sec. Hebr. l. 6. c. 13 and 14, and Schickardi Jus Regium Hebr. c. 5. Theor. 16.

² Josh. xi. 20. The Jews, however, say that the Gergashites, believing they could not escape the destruction with which they were threatened by God, if they persisted to defend themselves, fled into Africa in great numbers; (V. Talm. Hieros. ubi sup.) And this is assigned as the reason why the Gergashites are not mentioned among the other Canaanitish nations who assembled to fight against Joshua, (Josh. ix. 1.) and who were doomed to utter extirpation (Deut. xx. 17.) But it is observable, that the Gergashites are not omitted by the Septuagint in either of those texts, and that their name appears in the latter of them in the Samaritan Pentateuch: they are also joined with the other Canaanites as having fought against Israel, in Josh. xxiv. 11. ³ Kor. c. 8. ⁴ Ib. ⁵ Abulfed. in Vit. Moh. p. 118, &c. V. Kor. c. 9, and the notes there.

dispose thereof as he pleased, because no horses or camels were made use of in that expedition¹, but the whole army went on foot; and this became thenceforward a law²: the reason of which seems to be, that the spoil taken by a party consisting of infantry only should be considered as the more immediate gift of God³, and therefore properly left to the disposition of his apostle. According to the Jews, the spoil ought to be divided into two equal parts, one to be shared among the captors, and the other to be taken by the prince⁴, and by him employed for his own support and the use of the public. Moses, it is true, divided one half of the plunder of the Midianites among those who went to battle, and the other half among all the congregation⁵: but this, they say, being a peculiar case, and done by the express order of God himself, must not be looked on as a precedent⁶. It should seem, however, from the words of Joshua to the two tribes and half, when he sent them home into Gilead after the conquest and division of the land of Canaan, that they were to divide the spoil of their enemies with their brethren, after their return⁷: and the half which was in succeeding times taken by the king was in all probability taken by him as head of the community, and representing the whole body. It is remarkable that the dispute among Mohammed's men about sharing the booty at Bedr⁸ arose on the same occasion as did that among David's soldiers in relation to the spoils recovered from the Amalekites⁹; those who had been in the action insisting that they who tarried by the stuff should have no part of the spoil; and that the same decision was given in both cases, which became a law for the future, to wit, that they should part alike.

The fifth part directed by the Korân to be taken

¹ Kor. chap. 59, and the notes there.

² V. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 91.

³ V. Kor. c. 59, ubi supra.

⁴ Gemar. Babyl. ad tit. Sanhedr. c. 2. V. Selden.

de Jure Nat. et Gent. sec. Hebr. lib. 6, c. 16.

⁵ Numb. xxxi. 27.

⁶ V. Maim.

Halach. Melach. c. 4.

⁷ Josh. xxii. 8.

⁸ See Kor. c. 8, and the notes

there. ⁹ 1 Sam. xxx. 21—25.

out of the spoil before it, be divided among the captors is declared to belong to God, and to the apostle, and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller¹: which words are variously understood. Al Shâfei was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts; the first, which he called God's part, to go to the treasury, and be employed in building and repairing fortresses, bridges, and other public works, and in paying salaries to magistrates, civil officers, professors of learning, ministers of public worship, &c.: the second part to be distributed among the kindred of Mohammed, that is, the descendants of his grandfather Hâshem, and of his great uncle al Motaleb², as well the rich as the poor, the children as the adult, the women as the men; observing only to give a female but half the share of a male: the third part to go to the orphans: the fourth part to the poor, who have not wherewithal to maintain themselves the year round, and are not able to get their livelihood: and the fifth part to travellers, who are in want on the road, notwithstanding they may be rich men in their own country³. According to Malec Ebn Ans, the whole is at the disposition of the Imâm or prince, who may distribute the same at his own discretion, where he sees most need⁴. Abu'l Aliya went according to the letter of the Korân, and declared his opinion to be that the whole should be divided into six parts, and that God's part should be applied to the service of the Caaba: while others suppose God's part and the apostle's to be one and the same⁵. Abu Hanîfa thought that the share of Mohammed and his kindred sank at that prophet's death, since which the whole ought to be divided among the orphans, the poor, and the traveller⁶. Some insist that the kindred of Mohammed entitled to a share of the spoils are the posterity of Hâshem

¹ Korân, chap. 8.

latter. ³ Al Bcid. V. Reland. de Jure Milit. Moham. p. 42, &c. ⁴ Idem.

⁵ Idem. ⁶ Idem.

only ; but those who think the descendants of his brother al Motaleb have also a right to a distributive part allege a tradition in their favour, purporting that Mohammed himself divided the share belonging to his relations among both families, and when Othmân Ebn Assân and Jobeir Ebn Matám (who were descended from Abdshams and Nawfal, the other brothers of Hâshem), told him that, though they disputed not the preference of the Hâshemites, they could not help taking it ill to see such difference made between the family of al Motaleb and themselves, who were related to him in an equal degree, and yet had no part in the distribution, the prophet replied, that the descendants of al Motaleb had forsaken him neither in the time of ignorance, nor since the revelation of Islam ; and joined his fingers together in token of the strict union between them and the Hâshemites¹. Some exclude none of the tribe of Koreish from receiving a part in the division of the spoil, and make no distinction between the poor and the rich ; though, according to the more reasonable opinion, such of them as are poor only are intended by the text of the Korân, as is agreed in the case of the stranger : and others go so far as to assert that the whole fifth commanded to be reserved belongs to them only, and that the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, are to be understood of such as are of that tribe². It must be observed, that immoveable possessions, as lands, &c. taken in war, are subject to the same laws as the moveable ; excepting only, that the fifth part of the former is not actually divided, but the income and profits thereof, or of the price thereof, if sold, are applied to public and pious uses, and distributed once a year, and that the prince may either take the fifth part of the land itself, or the fifth part of the income and produce of the whole, as he shall make his election.

¹ Al Beidl. V. Reland, de Jure Milit. Mohan . p. 42. &c.

² Idem.

SECTION VII.

Of the Months commanded by the Korân to be kept sacred ; and of the setting apart of Friday for the especial Service of God.

IT was a custom among the ancient Arabs to observe four months in the year as sacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and took off the heads from their spears, ceasing from incursions and other hostilities. During those months whoever was in fear of his enemy lived in full security ; so that if a man met the murderer of his father or his brother, he durst not offer him any violence¹ : a great argument, says a learned writer, of a humane disposition in that nation ; who being, by reason of the independent governments of their several tribes, and for the preservation of their just rights, exposed to frequent quarrels with one another, had yet learned to cool their inflamed breasts with moderation, and restrain the rage of war by stated times of truce².

This institution obtained among all the Arabian tribes, except only those of Tay and Khathâam, and some of the descendants of al Hareth Ebn Caab, (who distinguished no time or place as sacred³), and was so religiously observed, that there are but few instances in history (four, say some, six, say others⁴), of its having been transgressed ; the wars which were carried on without regard thereto being therefore termed impious. One of those instances was

¹ Al Kaswini, apud Golium in notis ad Alfrag. p. 4, &c. Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 311. Al Jawhari, al Firauzab.

² Golius, ubi sup. p. 5.

³ Al Shahrestâni, ubi sup. See before, p. 167.

⁴ Al Mogholtai.

in the war between the tribes of Koreish and Kais Ailân, wherein Mohammed himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen¹, or, as others say, twenty² years old.

The months which the Arabs held sacred were al Moharram, Rajeb, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja; the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth in the year³. Dhu'lhajja being the month wherein they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, not only that month, but also the preceding and the following were for that reason kept inviolable, that every one might safely and without interruption pass and repossess to and from the festival⁴. Rajeb is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three⁵, probably because in that month the pagan Arabs used to fast⁶; Ramadân, which was afterwards set apart by Mohammed for that purpose, being in the time of ignorance dedicated to drinking in excess⁷. By reason of the profound peace and security enjoyed in this month, one part of the provisions brought by the caravans of purveyors annually set out by the Koreish for the supply of Mecca⁸ was distributed among the people; the other part being, for the like reason, distributed at the pilgrimage⁹.

The observance of the aforesaid months seemed so reasonable to Mohammed, that it met with his approbation; and the same is accordingly confirmed and enforced by several passages of the Korân¹⁰, which forbid war to be waged during those months

¹ Abulfedâ, Vit. Moh. p. 11. ² Al Kodâi, al Firauz. apud Poc. Spec. p. 174. Al Mogholtaï mentions both opinions. ³ Mr. Bayle (Dict. Hist. et Crit. Art. la Mecque, Rem. F.) accuses Dr. Prideaux of an inconsistency for saying in one place (Life of Mah. p. 64.) that these sacred months were the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth, and intimating in another place (Ib. p. 89.) that three of them were contiguous. But this must be mere absence of mind in Mr. Bayle: for are not the eleventh, the twelfth, and the first months contiguous? The two learned professors, Golius and Reland, have also made a small slip in speaking of these sacred months, which, they tell us, are the two first and the two last in the year. V. Golii Lex. Arab. col. 601, et Reland. de Jure Milit. Mohammedanor. p. 5. ⁴ V. Gol. in Alfrag. p. 9. ⁵ V. ibid. p. 6. ⁶ Al Makrizi, apud Poc. ubi supra. ⁷ Idem, et Auctor Neshk al Azhâr, ibid. ⁸ See Korân, chap. 106. ⁹ Al Edrisi apud Poc. Specim. p. 127. ¹⁰ Chap. 9. chap. 2, p. 32. chap. 4, p. 116. chap. 5, p. 136, &c.

against such as acknowledge them to be sacred, but grant, at the same time, full permission to attack those who make no such distinction, in the sacred months as well as in the profane¹.

One practice, however, of the pagan Arabs, in relation to these sacred months, Mohammed thought proper to reform: for some of them, weary of sitting quiet for three months together, and eager to make their accustomed incursions for plunder, used, by way of expedient, whenever it suited their inclinations or conveniency, to put off the observing of al Moharram to the following month Safar², thereby avoiding to keep the former, which they supposed it lawful for them to profane, provided they sanctified another month in lieu of it, and gave public notice thereof at the preceding pilgrimage. This transferring the observation of a sacred month to a profane month is what is truly meant by the Arabic word al Nasi, and is absolutely condemned, and declared to be an impious innovation, in a passage of the Korân³ which Dr. Prideaux⁴, misled by Golius⁵, imagines to relate to the prolonging of the year, by adding an intercalary month thereto. It is true, the Arabs, who imitated the Jews in their manner of computing by lunar years, had also learned their method of reducing them to solar years, by intercalating a month sometimes in the third, and sometimes in the second year⁶; by which means they fixed the pilgrimage of Mecca (contrary to the original institution) to a certain season of the year, viz. to autumn, as most convenient for the pilgrims, by reason of the temperateness of the weather, and the plenty of provisions⁷; and it is also true that Mohammed forbade such intercalation by a passage in the same chapter of the Korân: but then it is not the passage abovementioned, which

¹ Chap. 9. chap. 2, p. 32.

² See the notes to chap. 9, ubi supra.

³ Chap. 9, ibid.

⁴ Life of Mah. p. 66.

⁵ In Alfrag. p. 12.

⁶ See

Prid. Preface to the first vol. of his Connect. p. vi. &c.

⁷ V. G. l. ubi

supra.

prohibits a different thing, but one a little before it, wherein the number of months in the year, according to the ordinance of God, is declared to be twelve¹; whereas, if the intercalation of a month were allowed, every third or second year would consist of thirteen, contrary to God's appointment.

The setting apart of one day in the week for the more peculiar attendance on God's worship, so strictly required by the Jewish and Christian religions, appeared to Mohammed to be so proper an institution, that he could not but imitate the professors thereof in that particular; though, for the sake of distinction, he might think himself obliged to order his followers to observe a different day from either. Several reasons are given why the sixth day of the week was pitched on for this purpose²; but Mohammed seems to have preferred that day chiefly because it was the day on which the people used to be assembled long before his time³, though such assemblies were had, perhaps, rather on a civil than a religious account. However it be, the Mohammedan writers bestow very extraordinary encomiums on this day, calling it the prince of days, and the most excellent day on which the sun rises⁴; pretending also that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be solemnized⁵: and they esteem it a peculiar honour to Islam, that God has been pleased to appoint this day to be the feast-day of the Moslems, and granted them the advantage of having first observed it⁶.

Though the Mohammedans do not think themselves bound to keep their day of public worship so holy as the Jews and Christians are certainly obliged to keep theirs, there being a permission, as is generally supposed, in the Korân⁷, allowing them to

¹ Kor. chap. 9. See also chap. 2, p. 32. ² See chap. 63, and the notes there.

³ Al Beidâwî.

⁴ Ebn al Athîr, et al Ghazâlî, apud Poc. Spec. p. 317.

⁵ Idem.

⁶ Al Ghazâlî, *ibid*.

⁷ Chap. 63, *ubi supra*.

return to their employments or diversion after divine service is over; yet the more devout disapprove the applying of any part of that day to worldly affairs, and require it to be wholly dedicated to the business of the life to come¹.

Since I have mentioned the Mohammedan weekly feast, I beg leave just to take notice of their two Beirâms², or principal annual feasts. The first of them is called, in Arabic, *Id al fetr*, i. e. The feast of breaking the fast, and begins the first of Shawâl, immediately succeeding the fast of Ramadân; and the other is called *Id al korbân*, or *Id al adhâ*, i. e. The feast of the sacrifice, and begins on the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of Mecca³. The former of these feasts is properly the lesser Beirâm, and the latter the greater Beirâm⁴: but the vulgar, and most authors who have written of the Mohammedan affairs⁵, exchange the epithets, and call that which follows Ramadân the greater Beirâm, because it is observed in an extraordinary manner, and kept for three days together at Constantinople and in other parts of Turkey, and in Persia for five or six days, by the common people at least, with great demonstrations of public joy, to make themselves amends, as it were, for the mortification of the preceding month⁶; whereas the feast of sacrifices, though it be also kept for three days, and the first of them be the most solemn day of the pilgrimage, the principal act of devotion among the Mohammedans, is taken much less notice of by the generality of people, who are not struck therewith because the ceremonies with which the same is observed are performed at Mecca, the only scene of that solemnity.

¹ Al Ghazâli, ubi sup. p. 318. ² The word Beirâm is Turkish, and properly signifies a feast-day or holiday. ³ See chap. 9, and before, § IV. p. 165.
⁴ V. Reland, de Relig. Moh. p. 109, et D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Beirâm.
⁵ Hyde, in notis ad Bobov. p. 16. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, Tom. II. p. 450.
⁶ V. Chardin, et Ricaut, ubi supra.

SECTION VIII.

Of the principal Sects among the Mohammedans; and of those who have pretended to Prophecy among the Arabs, in or since the Time of Mohammed.

BEFORE we take a view of the sects of the Mohammedans, it will be necessary to say something of the two sciences by which all disputed questions among them are determined, viz. their Scholastic and Practical Divinity.

Their scholastic divinity is a mongrel science, consisting of logical, metaphysical, theological, and philosophical disquisitions, and built on principles and methods of reasoning very different from what are used by those who pass among the Mohammedans themselves for the sounder divines or more able philosophers¹, and therefore in the partition of the sciences this is generally left out, as unworthy a place among them². The learned Maimonides³ has laboured to expose the principles and systems of the scholastic divines, as frequently repugnant to the nature of the world and the order of the creation, and intolerably absurd.

This art of handling religious disputes was not known in the infancy of Mohammedism, but was brought in when sects sprang up, and articles of religion began to be called in question, and was at first made use of to defend the truth of those arti-

¹ Poc. Spec. p. 196. ² Apud Ebn Sina, in Libello de Divisione Scientiar. et Nasiro'ddin al Tûsi, in præfat. ad Ethic. ³ More Nevoch. l. 1, c. 71, et 73.

cles against innovators¹; and while it keeps within those bounds is allowed to be a commendable study, being necessary for the defence of the faith: but when it proceeds farther, out of an itch of disputation, it is judged worthy of censure.

This is the opinion of al Ghazâli², who observes a medium between those who have too high a value for this science, and those who absolutely reject it. Among the latter was al Shâfei, who declared that, in his judgment, if any man employed his time that way, he deserved to be fixed to a stake, and carried about through all the Arab tribes, with the following proclamation to be made before him: This is the reward of him who, leaving the Korân and the Sonna, applied himself to the study of scholastic divinity³. Al Ghazâli, on the other hand, thinks that as it was introduced by the invasion of heresies, it is necessary to be retained in order to quell them: but then in the person who studies this science he requires three things, diligence, acuteness of judgment, and probity of manners; and is by no means for suffering the same to be publicly explained⁴. This science, therefore, among the Mohammedans, is the art of controversy, by which they discuss points of faith, concerning the essence and attributes of God, and the conditions of all possible things, either in respect to their creation, or final restoration, according to the rules of the religion of Islam⁵.

The other science is practical divinity or jurisprudence, and is the knowledge of the decisions of the law which regard practice, gathered from distinct proofs.

Al Ghazâli declares that he had much the same opinion of this science as of the former, its original being owing to the corruption of religion and morality; and therefore judged both sciences to be

¹ Al Ghazâli, apud Pcc. ubi supra.

² Ibid.

³ V. Poc. ib. p. 197.

⁴ Al Ghazâl. ibid.

⁵ Ebn al Kossâ, apud eund. ibid. p. 198.

necessary not in themselves, but by accident only, to curb the irregular imaginations and passions of mankind (as guards become necessary in the highways by reason of robbers); the end of the first being the suppressing of heresies, and of the other the decision of legal controversies, for the quiet and peaceable living of mankind in this world, and for the preserving the rule by which the magistrate may prevent one man from injuring another, by declaring what is lawful and what is unlawful, by determining the satisfaction to be given, or punishment to be inflicted, and by regulating other outward actions; and not only so, but to decide of religion itself and its conditions, so far as relates to the profession made by the mouth, it not being the business of the civilian to inquire into the heart¹: the depravity of men's manners, however, has made this knowledge of the laws so very requisite, that it is usually called the science, by way of excellence, nor is any man reckoned learned who has not applied himself thereto².

The points of faith, subject to the examination and discussion of the scholastic divines, are reduced to four general heads, which they call the four bases, or great fundamental articles³.

The first basis relates to the attributes of God, and his unity consistent therewith. Under this head are comprehended the questions concerning the eternal attributes, which are asserted by some, and denied by others; and also the explication of the essential attributes, and attributes of action; what is proper for God to do, and what may be affirmed of him, and what it is impossible for him to do. These things are controverted between the Ashárians, the Kerámians, the Mojassemians or Corporalists, and the Mótazalites⁴.

The second basis regards predestination, and the justice thereof: which comprises the questions con-

¹ Al Ghazáli. V. *ibid.* p. 198—204.
Hist. Dynast. p. 166.

² V. *ib.* p. 204.

³ V. Abu'lfarag.

⁴ Al Shahrestáni, *apud* Poc. *ubi sup.* p. 204, &c.

cerning God's purpose and decree, man's compulsion or necessity to act, and his co-operation in producing actions, by which he may gain to himself good or evil; and also those which concern God's willing good and evil, and what things are subject to his power, and what to his knowledge; some maintaining the affirmative, and others the negative. These points are disputed among the Kadarians, the Najarians, the Jabarians, the Ashárians, and the Kerâmians¹.

The third basis concerns the promises and threats, the precise acceptation of names used in divinity, and the divine decisions; and comprehends questions relating to faith, repentance, promises, threats, forbearance, infidelity and error. The controversies under this head are on foot between the Morgians, the Waïdians, the Mótazalites, the Ashárians, and the Kerâmians².

The fourth basis regards history and reason, that is, the just weight they ought to have in matters belonging to faith and religion; and also the mission of prophets, and the office of Imâm, or chief pontiff. Under this head are comprised all casuistical questions relating to the moral beauty or turpitude of actions; inquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reason of their own nature, or by the positive law; and also questions concerning the preference of actions, the favour or grace of God, the innocence which ought to attend the prophetic office, and the conditions requisite in the office of Imâm; some asserting it depends on right of succession, others on the consent of the faithful, and also the method of transferring it, with the former, and of confirming it, with the latter. These matters are the subjects of dispute between the Shiites, the Mótazalites, the Kerâmians, and the Ashárians³.

The different sects of Mohammedans may be di-

¹ Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 205.
Idem, ibid.

² Idem, ib. p. 206.

stinguished into two sorts ; those generally esteemed orthodox, and those which are esteemed heretical.

The former, by a general name, are called Sonnites or Traditionists ; because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of supplement to the Korân, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, and in name, as well as design, answering to the Mishna of the Jews¹.

The Sonnites are subdivided into four chief sects, which, notwithstanding some differences as to legal conclusions in their interpretation of the Korân, and matters of practice, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of salvation, and have each of them their several stations or oratories in the temple of Mecca². The founders of these sects are looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and are said to have been men of great devotion and self-denial, well versed in the knowledge of those things which belong to the next life and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. This is al Ghazâlî's encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour that their names should be used by those who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain their skill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice³.

The first of the four orthodox sects is that of the Hanefites, so named from their founder, Abu Hanîfa al Nómân Ebn Thâbet, who was born at Cufâ, in the eightieth year of the Hejra, and died in the one hundred and fiftieth, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time⁴. He ended his life in prison at Baghdâd, where he had been confined

¹ V. Poc. Spec. p. 298. Prid. Life of Mah. p. 51, &c. Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 68, &c. Millium, de Mohammedismo, ante Moh. p. 368, 369. ² See before, p. 158. ³ V. Poc. Spec. p. 293. ⁴ Ebn Khalecân.

because he refused to be made Kâdi or judge¹; on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge, choosing rather to be punished by them than by God, says al Ghazâli; who adds, that when he excused himself from accepting the office by alleging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, "If I speak the truth, I am unfit; but if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge." It is said that he read over the Korân in the prison where he died, no less than seven thousand times².

The Hanefites are called by an Arabian writer³ the followers of reason, and those of the three other sects, followers of tradition; the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of Mohammed.

The sect of Abu Hanîfa heretofore obtained chiefly in Irâk⁴, but now generally prevails among the Turks and Tartars: his doctrine was brought into great credit by Abu Yûsof, chief justice under the Khalifs al Hâdi and Harûn al Rashîd⁵.

The second orthodox sect is that of Mâlec Ebn Ans, who was born at Medina, in the year of the Hejra, 90, 93, 94⁶, or 95⁷, and died there in 177⁸, 178⁹, or 179¹⁰ (for so much do authors differ). This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of Mohammed¹¹. In his last illness, a friend going to visit him found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered, "How should I not weep? and who has more reason to

¹ This was the true cause of his imprisonment and death, and not his refusing to subscribe to the opinion of absolute predestination, as D'Herbelot writes (Bibl. Orient. p. 21.), misled by the dubious acceptation of the word Kadâ, which signifies not only God's decree in particular, but also the giving sentence as a judge in general: nor could Abu Hanîfa have been reckoned orthodox had he denied one of the principal articles of faith.

² Poc. Spec. p. 297, 298.

³ Al Shahrestâni, *ibid*.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 21,

⁶ Abulfeda.

⁷ Ebn Khalecân.

⁸ Idem.

⁹ Abul-

feda.

¹⁰ Elmacinus, p. 114.

¹¹ Ebn Khalec. V. Poc. Spec. p. 294.

weep than I? Would to God that for every question decided by me according to my own opinion I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to God I had never given any decision of my own¹!" Al Ghazâli thinks it a sufficient proof of Malec's directing his knowledge to the glory of God, that being once asked his opinion as to forty-eight questions, his answer to thirty-two of them was, that he did not know; it being no easy matter for one who has any other view than God's glory to make so frank a confession of his ignorance².

The doctrine of Malec is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa.

The author of the third orthodox sect was Mohammed Ebn Edrîs al Shâfeï, born either at Gaza or Ascalon in Palestine, in the year of the Hejra one hundred and fifty, the same day (as some will have it) that Abu Hanîfa died, and was carried to Mecca at two years of age, and there educated³. He died in two hundred and four⁴, in Egypt, whither he went about five years before⁵. This doctor is celebrated for his excellency in all parts of learning, and was much esteemed by Ebn Hanbal his contemporary, who used to say that "he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body." Ebn Hanbal, however, had so ill an opinion of al Shâfeï at first, that he forbade his scholars to go near him; but some time after one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after al Shâfeï, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbade them to follow him, and did it himself? to which Ebn Hanbal replied, "Hold thy peace; if thou but attend his mule thou wilt profit thereby⁶."

Al Shâfeï is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method⁷; one wittily saying, that the re-

¹ Ebn Khalec. V. Poc. Spec. p. 294.

Khalecân.

⁶ Idem.

² Al Ghazâli, *ibid*.

⁴ Yet Abulfeda says he lived fifty-eight years.

⁷ Idem.

³ Ebn

⁵ Ebn Kha-

lators of the traditions of Mohammed were asleep till al Shâfeî came and waked them¹. He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been already observed². Al Ghazâlî tells us that al Shâfeî used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him that he never so much as once swore by God, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood; and that being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, "I am considering first whether it be better to speak or to hold my tongue." The following saying is also recorded of him, viz. "Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time is a liar³." The followers of this doctor are from him called Shâfeîtes, and were formerly spread into Mawara'nahr and other parts eastward, but are now chiefly of Arabia and Persia.

Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the founder of the fourth sect, was born in the year of the Hejra one hundred and sixty-four; but as to the place of his birth there are two traditions: some say he was born at Merû in Khorasân, of which city his parents were, and that his mother brought him from thence to Baghdâd at her breast; while others assure us that she was with child of him when she came to Baghdâd, and that he was born there⁴. Ebn Hanbal in process of time attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge; being so well versed in the traditions of Mohammed, in particular, that it is said he could repeat no less than a million of them⁵. He was very intimate with al Shâfeî, from whom he received most of his traditionary knowledge, being his constant attendant till his departure for Egypt⁶. Refusing to acknowledge the Korân to

¹ Al Zâfarâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 296.
Spec. p. 295—297.

⁴ Ebn Khalecân.

² See before, p. 209.

⁵ Idem.

³ V. Poc.
⁶ Idem.

be created¹, he was, by order of the Khalif al Mótasem, severely scourged and imprisoned². Ebn Hanbal died at Baghdâd, in the year two hundred and forty-one, and was followed to his grave by eight hundred thousand men, and sixty thousand women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, if not miraculous, that on the day of his death no less than twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians, embraced the Mohammedan faith³. This sect increased so fast, and became so powerful and bold, that in the year three hundred and twenty-three, in the Khalifat of al Râdi, they raised a great commotion in Baghdâd, entering people's houses, and spilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the singing-women they met with, and breaking their instruments; and a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to their duty⁴: but the Hanbalites at present are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of Arabia.

The heretical sects among the Mohammedans are those which hold heterodox opinions in fundamentals or matters of faith.

The first controversies relating to fundamentals began when most of the companions of Mohammed were dead⁵: for in their days was no dispute, unless about things of small moment, if we except only the dissensions concerning the Imâms, or rightful successors of their prophet, which were stirred up and fomented by interest and ambition; the Arabs' continual employment in the wars, during that time, allowing them little or no leisure to enter into nice inquiries and subtle distinctions: but no sooner was the ardour of conquest a little abated than they began to examine the Korân more nearly; whereupon dif-

¹ See before, sect. III. p. 92, &c.

Dyn. p. 252, &c. ³ Ebn Khalecân.

Ebn Khalecân, Abu'lfarag. Hist.

⁴ Abu'lfar. ubi sup. p. 301, &c.

⁵ Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 194. Auctor Sharh-al Mawâkef, apud eund. p. 210.

ferences in opinion became unavoidable, and at length so greatly multiplied, that the number of their sects, according to the common opinion, are seventy-three. For the Mohammedans seem ambitious that their religion should exceed others even in this respect; saying, that the Mágians are divided into seventy sects, the Jews into seventy-one, the Christians into seventy-two, and the Moslems into seventy-three, as Mohammed had foretold¹: of which sects they reckon one to be always orthodox, and entitled to salvation².

The first heresy was that of the Khârejites, who *revolted* from Ali in the thirty-seventh year of the Hejra; and not long after, Mábad al Johni, Ghailân of Damascus, and Jonas al Aswâri broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination, and the ascribing of good and evil unto God; whose opinions were followed by Wâsel Ebn Atâ³. This latter was the scholar of Hasan of Basra, in whose school a question being proposed, whether he who had committed a grievous sin was to be deemed an infidel or not, the Khârejites (who used to come and dispute there) maintaining the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative, Wâsel, without waiting his master's decision, withdrew abruptly, and began to publish among his fellow-scholars a new opinion of his own, to wit, that such a sinner was in a middle state; and he was thereupon expelled the school; he and his followers being thenceforth called Mótazalites, or Separatists⁴.

The several sects which have arisen since this time are variously compounded and decompounded of the opinions of four chief sects, the Mótazalites, the Sefâtians, the Khârejites, and the Shiites⁵.

¹ V. Poc. Spec. p. 194. ² Al Shahrestâni, apud eund. p. 211. ³ Idem, and Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, ubi sup. ⁴ Idem, ib. p. 211, 212. Et Ebn Khalecân, in Vita Waseli. ⁵ Al Shahrestâni, who also reduces them to four chief sects, puts the Kadarians in the place of the Mótazalites. Abu'lfaragius (Hist. Dyn. p. 166.) reckons six principal sects, adding the Jabarians and the Morgians; and the author of Sharh al Mawâkef, eight, viz. the Mótazalites, the

I. The Mótazalites were the followers of the before-mentioned Wâsel Ebn Atâ. As to their chief and general tenets, 1. They entirely rejected all eternal attributes of God, to avoid the distinction of persons made by the Christians; saying that eternity is the proper or formal attribute of his essence; that God knows by his essence, and not by his knowledge¹; and the same they affirmed of his other attributes² (though all the Mótazalites do not understand these words in one sense); and hence this sect were also named Moattalites, from their divesting God of his attributes³: and they went so far as to say, that to affirm these attributes is the same thing as to make more eternals than one, and that the unity of God is inconsistent with such an opinion⁴; and this was the true doctrine of Wâsel their master, who declared that whoever asserted an eternal attribute asserted there were two Gods⁵. This point of speculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at first, but was at length brought to maturity by Wâsel's followers, after they had read the books of the philosophers⁶. 2. They believed the word of God to have been created *in subjecto* (as the schoolmen term it), and to consist of letters and sound; copies thereof being written in books, to express or imitate the original. They also went farther, and affirmed that whatever is created *in subjecto* is also an accident, and liable to perish⁷. 3. They denied absolute predestination, holding that God was not the author of evil, but of good only; and that man was a free agent⁸: which being properly the opinion

Shiites, the Khârejites, the Morgians, the Najarians, the Jabarians, the Moshabbehites, and the sect which he calls al Nâjia, because that alone will be saved, being according to him the sect of the Ashârians. V. Poc. Spec. p. 209.

¹ Maimonides teaches the same, not as the doctrine of the Mótazalites, but his own. V. More Nev. l. 1. c. 57. ² Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 214. Abu'lfarag, p. 167. ³ V. Poc. Spec. p. 224. ⁴ Sharh al Mawâkef,

and al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 216. Maimonides (in Proleg. ad Pirke Aboth, § viii.) asserts the same thing. ⁵ V. Poc. ibid. ⁶ Al Shahrest. ib. p. 215. ⁷ Abu'lfarag. and al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 217. See before, sect. III. p. 92. ⁸ V. Poc. Spec. p. 240.

of the Kadarians, we defer what may be farther said thereof till we come to speak of that sect. On account of this tenet and the first, the Môtazalites look on themselves as the defenders of the unity and justice of God¹. 4. They held that if a professor of the true religion be guilty of a grievous sin, and die without repentance, he will be eternally damned, though his punishment will be lighter than that of the infidels². 5. They denied all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye, and rejected all comparisons or similitudes applied to God³.

This sect are said to have been the first inventors of scholastic divinity⁴, and are subdivided into several inferior sects, amounting, as some reckon, to twenty, which mutually brand one another with infidelity⁵: the most remarkable of them are,

1. The Hodeilians, or followers of Hamdân Abu Hodeil, a Môtazalite doctor, who differed something from the common form of expression used by this sect, saying that God knew by his knowledge, but that his knowledge was his essence; and so of the other attributes: which opinion he took from the philosophers, who affirm the essence of God to be simple, and without multiplicity, and that his attributes are not posterior or accessory to his essence, or subsisting therein, but are his essence itself: and this the more orthodox take to be next kin to making distinctions in the deity, which is the thing they so much abhor in the Christians⁶. As to the Korân's being created, he made some distinction; holding the word of God to be partly not *in subjecto* (and therefore uncreated), as when he spake the word Kûn, i. e. Fiat, at the creation, and partly *in subjecto*, as the precepts, prohibitions, &c.⁷ Marracci⁸ mentions an opinion of Abu Hodeil's concerning pre-

¹ Al Shahrest. and Sharh al Mawâkef, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 214. ² Marracci. Prodr. ad Ref. Alcor. part. III. p. 74. ³ Idem, ib. ⁴ V. Poc. Spec. p. 213. and D'Herbel. Art. Motazelah. ⁵ Auctor al Mawâkef. apud Poc. ib. ⁶ Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. p. 215, 216, 217. ⁷ Idem, apud eund. p. 217, &c. ⁸ In Prodr. part 3. p. 74.

destination, from an Arab writer¹, which being by him expressed in a manner not very intelligible, I choose to omit.

2. The Jobbâïans, or followers of Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd al Wahhâb, surnamed al Jobbâï, whose meaning when he made use of the common expression of the Môtazalites, that God knows by his essence, &c. was, that God's being knowing is not an attribute, the same with knowledge, nor such a state as rendered his being knowing necessary². He held God's word to be created *in subjecto*, as in the preserved table, for example, the memory of Gabriel, Mohammed, &c.³ This sect, if Marracci has given the true sense of his author, denied that God could be seen in paradise without the assistance of corporeal eyes; and held that man produced his acts by a power superadded to health of body and soundness of limbs; that he who was guilty of a mortal sin was neither a believer nor an infidel, but a transgressor (which was the original opinion of Wâsel), and if he died in his sins would be doomed to hell for eternity; and that God conceals nothing of whatever he knows from his servants⁴.

3. The Hashemians; who were so named from their master Abu Hashem al Salâm, the son of Abu Ali al Jobbâï, and whose tenets nearly agreed with those of the preceding sect⁵. Abu Hâshem took the Môtazalite form of expression, that God knows by his essence, in a different sense from others, supposing it to mean, that God hath or is endued with a disposition, which is a known property, or quality, posterior or accessory to his existence⁶. His followers were so much afraid of making God the author of evil, that they would not allow him to be said to create an infidel; because, according to their way of arguing, an infidel is a compound of infidelity

¹ Al Shahrest. ² Idem, apud Poc. Spec. p. 215. ³ Idem, and Auctor al Mawâkef, ib. p. 218. ⁴ Marracci, ubi sup. p. 75. ex al Shahrest.
⁵ V. Eund. ib. ⁶ Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 215.

and man, and God is not the creator of infidelity¹. Abu Hâshem, and his father Abu Ali al Jobbâi, were both celebrated for their skill in scholastic divinity².

4. The Nodhâmians, or followers of Ibrahim al Nodhâm; who having read books of philosophy, set up a new sect, and imagining he could not sufficiently remove God from being the author of evil, without divesting him of his power in respect thereto, taught that no power ought to be ascribed to God concerning evil and rebellious actions: but this he affirmed against the opinion of his own disciples, who allowed that God could do evil, but did not, because of its turpitude³. Of his opinion as to the Korân being created we have spoken elsewhere⁴.

5. The Hâyetians, so named from Ahmed Ebn Hâyet, who had been of the sect of the Nodhâmians, but broached some new notions on reading the philosophers. His peculiar opinions were, 1. That Christ was the eternal word incarnate, and took a true and real body, and will judge all creatures in the life to come⁵: he also farther asserted, that there are two Gods, or Creators; the one eternal, viz. the most high God, and the other not eternal, viz. Christ⁶; which opinion, though Dr. Pocock urges the same as an argument that he did not rightly understand the Christian mysteries⁷, is not much different from that of the Arians and Socinians. 2. That there is a successive transmigration of the soul from one body into another; and that the last body will enjoy the reward or suffer the punishment due to each soul⁸; and 3. That God will be seen at the resurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but those of the understanding⁹.

¹ Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 242. ² Ebn Khalecân, in vitis eorum. ³ Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 241, 242. V. Marracc. Prod. part 3, p. 74. ⁴ See before, Sect. III. p. 94. ⁵ Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 218. Abu'lfarag. p. 167. ⁶ Al Shahrest. al Mawâkef, et Ebn Kossâ, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 219. ⁷ V. Poc. ib. ⁸ Marracc. et al Shahrest. ubi sup. ⁹ Marracc. ib. p. 75.

6. The Jâhedhians, or followers of Amru Ebn Bahr, surnamed al Jâhedh, a great doctor of the Môtazalites, and very much admired for the elegance of his composures¹; who differed from his brethren in that he imagined the damned would not be eternally tormented in hell, but would be changed into the nature of fire, and that the fire would of itself attract them, without any necessity of their going into it². He also taught that if a man believed God to be his Lord, and Mohammed the apostle of God, he became one of the faithful, and was obliged to nothing further³. His peculiar opinion as to the Korân has been taken notice of before⁴.

7. The Mozdârians, who embraced the opinions of Isa Ebn Sobeih al Mozdâr, and those very absurd ones: for, besides his notions relating to the Korân⁵, he went so directly counter to the opinion of those who abridged God of the power to do evil, that he affirmed it possible for God to be a liar, and unjust⁶. He also pronounced him to be an infidel who thrust himself into the supreme government⁷: nay he went so far as to assert men to be infidels while they said, There is no God but God, and even condemned all the rest of mankind as guilty of infidelity; upon which Ibrahim Ebn al Sendi asked him whether paradise, whose breadth equals that of heaven and earth, was created only for him and two or three more who thought as he did? to which it is said he could return no answer⁸.

8. The Basharians, who maintained the tenets of Bashar Ebn Môtamer, the master of al Mozdâr⁹, and a principal man among the Môtazalites. He differed in some things from the general opinion of that sect, carrying man's free agency to a great excess, making it even independent: and yet he

¹ V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Giahedh. ² Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 260
³ Marracc. ubi sup. ⁴ Sect. III. p. 94. ⁵ V. ib. et p. 93. ⁶ Al Shahrest.
apud Poc. p. 241. ⁷ Marracc. ubi sup. p. 75. ⁸ Al Shahrestâni, ubi sup.
p. 220. ⁹ Poc. Spec. p. 221.

thought God might doom an infant to eternal punishment, but granted he would be unjust in so doing. He taught that God is not always obliged to do that which is best, for, if he pleased, he could make all men true believers. These sectaries also held, that if a man repent of a mortal sin, and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to suffer the punishment due to the former transgression¹.

9. The Thamamians, who followed Thamâma Ebn Bashar, a chief Môtazalite. Their peculiar opinions were, 1. That sinners should remain in hell for ever. 2. That free actions have no producing author. 3. That at the resurrection all infidels, idolaters, atheists, Jews, Christians, Magians, and heretics, shall be reduced to dust².

10. The Kadarians; which is really a more ancient name than that of Môtazalites; Mábad al Johni and his adherents being so called, who disputed the doctrine of predestination before Wasel quitted his master³; for which reason some use the denomination of Kadarians as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the Môtazalites under it⁴. This sect deny absolute predestination, saying that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions, which God has granted him power either to do or to let alone⁵. And hence it is said they are called Kadarians, because they deny al Kadr, or God's absolute decree; though others, thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from Kadr, or Kodrat, i. e. power, because they assert man's power to act freely⁶. Those, however, who give the name of Kadarians to the Môtazalites are their enemies, for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists the Jaba-

¹ Marracc. ubi sup. ² Idem, ib. ³ Al Shahrest. ⁴ Al Firauzah. V. Poc. Spec. p. 231, 232, et 214. ⁵ Al Shahrest. V. Poc. Spec. p. 235, et 240, &c. ⁶ V. Poc. ib. p. 238.

rians, who likewise refuse it as an infamous appellation¹, because Mohammed is said to have declared the Kadarians to be the Magians of his followers². But what the opinion of these Kadarians in Mohammed's time was is very uncertain: the Mótazalites say the name belongs to those who assert predestination, and make God the author of good and evil³, viz. the Jabarians; but all the other Mohammedan sects agree to fix it on the Mótazalites, who they say are like the Magians in establishing two principles, light, or God, the author of good, and darkness, or the Devil, the author of evil: but this cannot absolutely be said of the Mótazalites, for they (at least the generality of them) ascribe men's good deeds to God, but their evil deeds to themselves; meaning thereby that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is master of his actions; and for this reason it is that the other Mohammedans call them Magians, because they assert another author of actions besides God⁴. And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to say what Mohammed's own opinion was in this matter; for on the one side the Korân itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination, and many sayings of Mohammed are recorded to that purpose⁵, and one in particular, wherein he introduces Adam and Moses disputing before God in this manner: Thou, says Moses, art Adam; whom God created, and animated with the breath of life, and caused to be worshipped by the angels, and placed in paradise, from whence mankind have been expelled for thy fault: whereto Adam answered, Thou art Moses; whom God chose for his apostle, and entrusted with his word, by giving thee the tables of the law, and whom he vouchsafed to admit to discourse with himself: how many years dost thou find the law was written

¹ Al Motarrezî, al Shahrest. V. ib. p. 232.² Ibidem, &c. ibid.³ Ibidem, ib.⁴ V. Poc. ib. p. 233, &c.⁵ V. ib. p. 237.

before I was created? Says Moses, Forty: And dost thou not find, replied Adam, these words therein; And Adam rebelled against his Lord and transgressed? which Moses confessing, Dost thou therefore blame me, continued he, for doing that which God wrote of me that I should do, forty years before I was created; nay, for what was decreed concerning me fifty thousand years before the creation of heaven and earth? In the conclusion of which dispute Mohammed declared that Adam had the better of Moses¹. On the other side, it is urged in the behalf of the Mótazalites, that Mohammed declaring that the Kadarians and Magians had been cursed by the tongues of seventy prophets, and being asked who the Kadarians were, answered, Those who assert that God predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it: al Hasan is also said to have declared, that God sent Mohammed to the Arabs while they were Kadarians, or Jabarians, and laid their sins upon God: and to confirm the matter this sentence of the Korân is quoted²; When they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers practising the same, and God hath commanded us so to do: Say, Verily God commandeth not filthy actions³.

II. The Sefâtians held the opposite opinion to the Mótazalites in respect to the eternal attributes of God, which they affirmed; making no distinction between the essential attributes and those of operation: and hence they were named Sefâtians, or Attributists. Their doctrine was that of the first Mohammedans, who were not yet acquainted with these nice distinctions: but this sect afterwards introduced another species of declarative attributes, or such as were necessarily used in historical narration, as hands, face, eyes, &c. which they did not offer to

¹ Ebn al Athîr, al Bokhari, apud Poc. p. 236.
rezi, apud eund. p. 237, 238.

² Chap. 7.

³ Al Motar-

explain, but contented themselves with saying they were in the law, and that they called them declarative attributes¹. However, at length, by giving various explications and interpretations of these attributes, they divided into many different opinions: some, by taking the words in the literal sense, fell into the notion of a likeness or similitude between God and created beings; to which it is said the Karaites among the Jews, who are for the literal interpretation of Moses's law, had shown them the way²: others explained them in another manner, saying that no creature was like God, but that they neither understood, nor thought it necessary to explain the precise signification of the words which seem to affirm the same of both; it being sufficient to believe that God hath no companion or similitude. Of this opinion was Malec Ebn Ans, who declared as to the expression of God's sitting on his throne, in particular, that though the meaning is known, yet the manner is unknown; and that it is necessary to believe it, but heresy to make any questions about it³.

The sects of the Sefâtians are,

1. The Ashárians, the followers of Abu'l Hasan al Ashári, who was first a Mótazalite, and the scholar of Abu Ali al Jobbâi, but disagreeing from his master in opinion as to God's being bound (as the Mótazalites assert) to do always that which is best or most expedient, left him, and set up a new sect of himself. The occasion of this difference was the putting a case concerning three brothers, the first of whom lived in obedience to God, the second in rebellion against him, and the third died an infant. Al Jobbâi being asked what he thought would become of them, answered, that the first would be rewarded in paradise, the second punished in hell, and the third neither rewarded nor punished: but what,

¹ Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 223. ² V. Poc. ib. p. 224. ³ V. eund. ib.

objected al Ashári, if the third say, O Lord, if thou hadst given me longer life, that I might have entered paradise with my believing brother, it would have been better for me; to which al Jobbâi replied, that God would answer, I knew that if thou hadst lived longer, thou wouldst have been a wicked person, and therefore cast into hell. Then, retorted al Ashári, the second will say, O Lord, why didst thou not take me away while I was an infant, as thou didst my brother, that I might not have deserved to be punished for my sins, nor be cast into hell? To which al Jobbâi could return no other answer, than that God prolonged his life to give him an opportunity of obtaining the highest degree of perfection, which was best for him: but al Ashári demanding farther, why he did not for the same reason grant the other a longer life to whom it would have been equally advantageous; al Jobbâi was so put to it, that he asked whether the devil possessed him? No, says al Ashári, but the master's ass will not pass the bridge¹; i. e. he is posed.

The opinions of the Ashárians were, 1. That they allowed the attributes of God to be distinct from his essence, yet so as to forbid any comparison to be made between God and his creatures². This was also the opinion of Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, and David al Ispahâni, and others, who herein followed Malec Ebn Ans, and were so cautious of any assimilation of God to created beings, that they declared whoever moved his hand while he read these words, I have created with my hand, or stretched forth his finger, in repeating this saying of Mohammed, The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful, ought to have his hand and finger cut off³; and the reasons they gave for not explaining any such words were, that it is forbidden in the Korân, and that

¹ Auctor al Mawâkef, et al Safadi, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 230, &c. Ebn Khalec. in Vita al Jobbâi. ² Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 230. ³ Idem, apud eund. p. 228, &c.

such explications were necessarily founded on conjecture and opinion, from which no man ought to speak of the attributes of God, because the words of the Korân might by that means come to be understood differently from the author's meaning: nay some have been so superstitiously scrupulous in this matter as not to allow the words hand, face, and the like, when they occur in the Korân, to be rendered into Persian or any other language, but require them to be read in the very original words, and this they call the safe way¹. 2. As to predestination, they held that God hath one eternal will, which is applied to whatsoever he willeth, both of his own actions and those of men, so far as they are created by him, but not as they are acquired or gained by them; that he willeth both their good and their evil, their profit and their hurt, and as he willeth and knoweth, he willeth concerning men that which he knoweth, and hath commanded the pen to write the same in the preserved Table: and this is his decree, and eternal immutable counsel and purpose². They also went so far as to say, that it may be agreeable to the way of God that man should be commanded what he is not able to perform³. But while they allow man some power, they seem to restrain it to such a power as cannot produce any thing new; only God, say they, so orders his providence, that he creates, after, or under, and together with every created or new power, an action which is ready whenever a man wills it, and sets about it: and this action is called Casb, i. e. Acquisition, being in respect to its creation, from God, but in respect to its being produced, employed, and acquired, from man⁴. And this being generally esteemed the orthodox opinion, it may not be improper farther to explain the same in the words of some other

¹ V. Poc. ib. ² Al Shahrest. apud eund. p. 245, &c.
246. ⁴ Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 245, &c.

³ Idem, ib. p.

writers. The elective actions of men, says one, fall under the power of God alone; nor is their own power effectual thereto: but God causeth to exist in man power and choice; and if there be no impediment, he causeth his action to exist also, subject to his power, and joined with that and his choice; which action, as created, is to be ascribed to God, but as produced, employed, or acquired, to man. So that by the acquisition of an action is properly meant a man's joining or connecting the same with his power and will, yet allowing herein no impression or influence on the existence thereof, save only that it is subject to his power¹. Others, however, who are also on the side of al Ashári, and reputed orthodox, explain the matter in a different manner, and grant the impression or influence of the created power of man on his action, and that this power is what is called Acquisition². But the point will be still clearer, if we hear a third author, who rehearses the various opinions, or explications of the opinion of this sect, in the following words, viz. Abu'l Hasan al Ashári asserts all the actions of men to be subject to the power of God, being created by him, and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is empowered to do; but that both the power, and what is subject thereto, fall under the power of God: al Kâdi Abu Becr says that the essence or substance of the action is the effect of the power of God, but its being either an action of obedience, as prayer, or an action of disobedience, as fornication, are qualities of the action, which proceed from the power of man: Abd'almalec, known by the title of Imâm al Haramein, Abu'l Hosein of Basra, and other learned men, held that the actions of men are effected by the power which God hath created in man, and that God causeth to exist in man both

¹ Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, apud eund. p. 247.
p. 248.

² Al Shahrest. ib.

power and will, and that this power and will do necessarily produce that which man is empowered to do: and Abu Ishâk al Isfarâyenî taught, that that which maketh impression, or hath influence on an action, is a compound of the power of God and the power of man¹. The same author observes, that their ancestors, perceiving a manifest difference between those things which are the effects of the election of man, and those things which are the necessary effects of inanimate agents, destitute both of knowledge and choice, and being at the same time pressed by the arguments which prove that God is the Creator of all things, and consequently of those things which are done by men, to conciliate the matter, chose the middle way, asserting actions to proceed from the power of God, and the acquisition of man; God's way of dealing with his servants being, that when man intendeth obedience, God createth in him an action of obedience, and when he intendeth disobedience, he createth in him an action of disobedience; so that man seemeth to be the effective producer of his action, though he really be not². But this, proceeds the same writer, is again pressed with its difficulties, because the very intention of the mind is the work of God, so that no man hath any share in the production of his own actions; for which reason the ancients disapproved of too nice an inquiry into this point, the end of the dispute concerning the same being, for the most part, either the taking away of all precepts positive as well as negative, or else the associating of a companion with God, by introducing some other independent agent besides him. Those, therefore, who would speak more accurately, use this form: There is neither compulsion nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two; the power and will in man being both created by God, though the merit

¹ Auctor *Sharh al Tawâlea*. apud eund. ib. p. 248, &c.
p. 249, 250.

² Idem, ib.

or guilt be imputed unto man. Yet, after all, it is judged the safest way to follow the steps of the primitive Moslems, and, avoiding subtle disputations and too curious inquiries, to leave the knowledge of this matter wholly unto God¹. 3. As to mortal

¹ Idem, ib. p. 250, 251. I trust the reader will not be offended if, as a farther illustration of what has been said on this subject (in producing of which I have purposely kept to the original Mohammedan expressions) I transcribe a passage or two from a postscript subjoined to the epistle I have quoted above (§ iv. p. 149.) in which the point of free-will is treated *ex professo*. Therein the Moorish author, having mentioned the two opposite opinions of the Kadarians, who allow free-will, and the Jabarians, who make man a necessary agent (the former of which opinions, he says, seems to approach nearest to that of the greater part of Christians, and of the Jews) declares the true opinion to be that of the Sonnites, who assert that man hath power and will to choose good and evil, and can moreover know he shall be rewarded if he do well, and shall be punished if he do ill; but that he depends notwithstanding on God's power, and willeth, if God willeth, but not otherwise. Then he proceeds briefly to refute the two extreme opinions, and first to prove that of the Kadarians, though it be agreeable to God's justice, inconsistent with his attributes of wisdom and power: "Sapientia enim Dei," says he, "comprehendit quicquid fuit et futurum est ab æternitate in finem usque mundi et postea. Et ita novit ab æterno omnia opera creaturarum, sive bona, sive mala, quæ fuerint creata cum potentia Dei, et ejus libera et determinata voluntate, sicut ipsi visum fuit. Denique novit eum qui futurus erat malus, et tamen creavit eum, et similiter bonum, quem etiam creavit: neque negari potest quin, si ipsi libuisset, potuisset omnes creare bonos: placuit tamen Deo creare bonos et malos, cum Deo soli sit absoluta et libera voluntas, et perfecta electio, et non homini. Ita enim Salomon in suis proverbiiis dixit, Vitam et mortem, bonum et malum, divitias et paupertatem, esse et venire à Deo. Christiani etiam dicunt S. Paulum dixisse in suis epistolis; Dicit etiam lutum figulo, quare facis unum vas ad honorem, et aliud vas ad contumeliam? Cum igitur miser homo fuerit creatus à voluntate Dei et potentia, nihil aliud potest tribui ipsi quam ipse sensus cognoscendi et sentiendi an bene vel male faciat. Quæ unica causa (id est, sensus cognoscendi) erit ejus gloriæ vel pænæ causa: per talem enim sensum novit quid boni vel mali adversus Dei præcepta fecerit. The opinion of the Jabarians, on the other hand, he rejects as contrary to man's consciousness of his own power and choice, and inconsistent with God's justice, and his having given mankind laws, to the observing or transgressing of which he has annexed rewards and punishments. After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words: "Tertia opinio Zunis (i. e. Sonnitæ), quæ vera est, affirmat homini potestatem esse, sed limitatam à sua causa, id est, dependentem à Dei potentia et voluntate, et propter illam cognitionem quæ deliberat benè vel malè facere, esse dignum pœna vel præmio. Manifestum est in æternitate non fuisse aliam potentiam præter Dei nostri omnipotentis, e cujus potentia pendebant omnia possibilia, id est, quæ poterant esse, cum ab ipso fuerint creata. Sapientia verò Dei novit etiam quæ non sunt futura; et potentia ejus, etsi non creaverit ea, potuit tamen, si ita Deo placuisset. Ita novit sapientia Dei quæ erant impossibilia, id est, quæ non poterant esse; quæ tamen nullo pacto pendent ab ejus potentia: ab ejus enim potentia nulla pendent nisi possibilia.—Dicimus enim à Dei potentia non pendere creare Deum alium ipsi similem, nec creare aliquid quod moveatur et quiescat simul eodem tempore, cum hæc sint ex impossibilibus: comprehendit tamen suâ sapientiâ tale aliquid non pendere ab ejus potentia.—A potentia igitur Dei pendet solum quod potest esse, et possibile est esse; quæ semper parata est dare esse possibilibus. Et si hoc penitus cognoscamus, cognoscemus pariter omne quod est, seu futurum est, sive sint opera nostra, sive

sin the Ashárians taught, that if a believer guilty of such sin die without repentance, his sentence is to be left to God, whether he pardon him out of his mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him, (according to that saying recorded of him, “My intercession shall be employed for those among my people who shall have been guilty of grievous crimes,”) or whether he punish him in proportion to his demerit, and afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into paradise: but that it is not to be supposed he will remain for ever in hell with the infidels, seeing it is declared that whoever shall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant shall be delivered from hell-fire ¹. And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically opposite to that of the Mótazalites.

These were the more rational Sefatians, but the ignorant part of them, not knowing how otherwise to explain the expressions of the Korân relating to the declarative attributes, fell into most gross and

quidvis aliud, pendere à sola potentia Dei. Et hoc non privatim intelligitur, sed in genere de omni eo quod est et movetur, sive in cœlis sive in terrâ; et nec aliquâ potentiâ potest impediri Dei potentia, cum nulla alia potentia absoluta sit, præter Dei; potentia verò nostra non est a se, nisi a Dei potentia: et cum potentia nostra dicitur esse a causa sua, ideo dicimus potentiam nostram esse straminis comparatam cum potentia Dei: eo enim modo quo stramen movetur à motu maris, ita nostra potentia et voluntas a Dei potentia. Itaque Dei potentia semper est parata etiam ad occidendum aliquem; ut si quis hominem occidat, non dicimus potentiâ hominis id factum, sed æterna potentia Dei: error enim est id tribuere potentiæ hominis. Potentia enim Dei, cum semper sit parata, et ante ipsum hominem, ad occidendum; si solâ hominis potentiâ id factum esse dicemus, et moreretur, potentia sanè Dei (quæ antè erat) jam ibi esset frustra; quia post mortem non potest potentia Dei eum iterum occidere; ex quo sequeretur potentiam Dei impediri à potentia hominis, et potentiam hominis anteire et antecellere potentiam Dei; quod est absurdum et impossibile. Igitur Deus est qui operatur æternâ suâ potentiâ: si verò homini injiciatur culpa, sive in tali homicidio, sive in aliis, hoc est quantum ad præcepta et legem. Homini tribuitur solum opus externè, et ejus electio, quæ est a voluntate ejus et potentia; non verò internè.—Hoc est punctum illud indivisibile et secretum, quod à paucissimis capitur, ut sapientissimus Sidi Abo Hamet Elgaceli (*i. e.* Dominus Abu Hâmed al Ghazâlî) affirmat (cujus spiritui Deus concedat gloriam, Amen!) sequentibus verbis: Ita abditum et profundum et abstrusum est intelligere punctum illud Liberi Arbitrii, ut neque characteres ad scribendum, neque ullæ rationes ad exprimendum sufficiant, et omnes, quotquot de hac re locuti sunt, hæserunt confusi in ripa tanti et tam spaciosi maris.

¹ Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 258.

absurd opinions, making God corporeal, and like created beings¹. Such were,

2. The Moshabbehites, or assimilators; who allowed a resemblance between God and his creatures², supposing him to be a figure composed of members or parts, either spiritual or corporeal, and capable of local motion, of ascent and descent, &c.³ Some of this sect inclined to the opinion of the Holûlians, who believed that the divine nature might be united with the human in the same person; for they granted it possible that God might appear in a human form, as Gabriel did: and to confirm their opinion they allege Mohammed's words, that he saw his Lord in a most beautiful form, and Moses talking with God face to face⁴. And

3. The Kerâmians, or followers of Mohammed Ebn Kerâm, called also Mojassemians, or Corporalists; who not only admitted a resemblance between God and created beings, but declared God to be corporeal⁵. The more sober among them, indeed, when they applied the word body to God, would be understood to mean that he is a self-subsisting being, which with them is the definition of body: but yet some of them affirmed him to be finite, and circumscribed either on all sides, or on some only (as beneath, for example), according to different opinions⁶; and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand, and seen by the eye. Nay, one David al Jawâri went so far as to say, that his deity was a body composed of flesh and blood, and that he had members, as hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears; but that he was a body, however, not like other bodies, neither was he like to any created being: he is also said farther to have affirmed that from the crown of the head to the breast

¹ V. Poc. ib. p. 255, &c. Abulfar. p. 167, &c.
apud Poc. ib.

³ Al Shahrest. apud eund. ib. p. 226.
racc. Prodr. part iii. p. 76.

⁵ Al Shahrest ubi supra.
ib. p. 225.

² Al Mawâkef,

⁴ V. Mar-

⁶ Idem,

he was hollow, and from the breast downward solid, and that he had black curled hair ¹. These most blasphemous and monstrous notions were the consequence of the literal acceptation of those passages in the Korân which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to God, and of the words of Mohammed, when he said, that God created man in his own image, and that himself had felt the fingers of God, which he laid on his back, to be cold : besides which, this sect are charged with fathering on their prophet a great number of spurious and forged traditions to support their opinion, the greater part whereof they borrowed from the Jews, who are accused as naturally prone to assimilate God to men, so that they describe him as weeping for Noah's flood till his eyes were sore ². And indeed, though we grant the Jews may have imposed on Mohammed and his followers in many instances, and told them as solemn truths things which themselves believed not or had invented, yet many expressions of this kind are to be found in their writings ; as when they introduce God roaring like a lion at every watch of the night, and crying, " Alas ! that I have laid waste my house, and suffered my temple to be burnt, and sent my children into banishment among the heathen," &c. ³

4. The Jabarians ; who are the direct opponents of the Kadarians, denying free agency in man, and ascribing his actions wholly unto God ⁴. They take their denomination from al Jabr, which signifies necessity or compulsion ; because they hold man to be necessarily and inevitably constrained to act as he does, by force of God's eternal and immutable decree ⁵. This sect is distinguished into several species ; some being more rigid and extreme in their opinion, who are thence called pure Jabarians, and others more moderate, who are therefore called middle

¹ Idem, ib. p. 226, 227.

² Idem, ib. p. 227, 228.

³ Talm.

Berachoth, c. l. V. Poc. ubi supra, p. 228.

⁴ V. Abulfarag. p. 168.

⁵ Al Shahrest. al Mawâkef, et Ebn al Kossâ, apud Poc. ib. p. 238, &c.

Jabarians. The former will not allow men to be said either to act, or to have any power at all, either operative or acquiring; asserting that man can do nothing, but produces all his actions by necessity, having neither power, nor will, nor choice, any more than an inanimate agent: they also declare that rewarding and punishing are also the effects of necessity; and the same they say of the imposing of commands. This was the doctrine of the Jahmians, the followers of Jahm Ebn Safwân, who likewise held that paradise and hell will vanish, or be annihilated, after those who are destined thereto respectively shall have entered them, so that at last there will remain no existing being besides God¹; supposing those words of the Korân, which declare that the inhabitants of paradise and of hell shall remain therein for ever, to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality². The moderate Jabarians are they who ascribe some power to man, but such a power as hath no influence on the action: for as to those who grant the power of man to have a certain influence on the action, which influence is called Acquisition, some³ will not admit them to be called Jabarians; though others reckon those also to be called middle Jabarians, and to contend for the middle opinion between absolute necessity and absolute liberty, who attribute to man acquisition, or concurrence, in producing the action, whereby he gaineth commendation or blame, (yet without admitting it to have any influence on the action), and therefore make the Ashárians a branch of this sect⁴. Having again mentioned the term Acquisition, we may perhaps have a clearer idea of what the Mohammedans mean thereby, when told, that it is defined to be an action directed to the obtaining of profit, or the removing of hurt, and for

¹ Al Shahrest. al Motarezzi, et Ebn al Kossá, apud eund. p. 239, 243, &c.

² Idem, ib. p. 260.
Mawâkef.

³ Al Shahrest.

⁴ Ebn al Kossá, et al

that reason never applied to any action of God, who acquireth to himself neither profit nor hurt¹. Of the middle or moderate Jabarians, were the Najârians, and the Derârians. The Najârians were the adherents of Al Hasan Ebn Mohammed al Najâr, who taught that God was he who created the actions of men, both good and bad, and that man acquired them, and also that man's power had an influence on the action, or a certain co-operation, which he called acquisition; and herein he agreed with al Ashâri². The Derârians were the disciples of Derâr Ebn Amru, who held also that men's actions are really created by God, and that man really acquired them³. The Jabarians also say, that God is absolute Lord of his creatures, and may deal with them according to his own pleasure, without rendering account to any, and that if he should admit all men without distinction into paradise, it would be no impartiality, or if he should cast them all into hell it would be no injustice⁴. And in this particular likewise they agree with the Ashârians, who assert the same⁵, and say that reward is a favour from God, and punishment a piece of justice; obedience being by them considered as a sign only of future reward, and transgression as a sign of future punishment⁶.

¹ Ebn al Kossâ, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 240.

² Al Shahrest. apud

eund. p. 245.

³ Idem, ib.

⁴ Abulfarag, p. 168, &c.

⁵ Al

Shahrestâni, ubi sup. p. 252, &c.

⁶ Sharh al Tawâlea, ib. To the

same effect writes the Moorish author quoted above, from whom I will venture to transcribe the following passage, with which he concludes his discourse on Free-will. "Intellectus ferè lumine naturali novit Deum esse rectum judicem et justum, qui non aliter afficit creaturam quàm juste: etiam Deum esse absolutum Dominum, et hanc orbis machinam esse ejus, et ab eo creatam; Deum nullis debere rationem reddere, cùm quicquid agat, agat jure proprio sibi: et ita absolute poterit afficere præmio vel pœna quem vult, cùm omnis creatura sit ejus, nec facit cuiquam injuriam, etsi eam tormentis et pœnis æternis afficiat: plus enim boni et commodi accepit creatura quando accepit esse a suo creatore, quàm incommodi et damni quando ab eo damnata est et affecta tormentis et pœnis. Hoc autem intelligitur si Deus absolute id faceret. Quando enim Deus, pietate et misericordia motus, eligit aliquos ut ipsi serviant, Dominus Deus gratiâ suâ id facit ex infinitâ bonitate; et quando aliquos derelinquit, et pœnis et tormentis afficit, ex justitia et rectitudine. Et tandem dicimus omnes pœnas esse justas quæ a Deo veniunt, et nostrâ tantum culpâ, et omnia bona esse à pietate et misericordia ejus infinita."

5. The Morgians; who are said to be derived from the Jabarians¹. These teach that the judgment of every true believer, who hath been guilty of a grievous sin, will be deferred till the resurrection; for which reason they pass no sentence on him in this world, either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with faith hurteth not; and that, on the other hand, obedience with infidelity profiteth not². As to the reason of their name the learned differ, because of the different significations of its root, each of which they accommodate to some opinion of the sect. Some think them so called because they postpone works to intention, that is, esteem works to be inferior in degree to intention and profession of the faith³; others, because they allow hope, by asserting that disobedience with faith hurteth not, &c.; others take the reason of the name to be, their deferring the sentence of the heinous sinner till the resurrection⁴; and others, their degrading of Ali, or removing him from the first degree to the fourth⁵: for the Morgians, in some points relating to the office of Imâm, agree with the Khârejites. This sect is divided into four species: three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogmas with the Khârejites, the Kadarians, or the Jabarians, are distinguished as Morgians of those sects, and the fourth is that of the pure Morgians; which last species is again subdivided into five others⁶. The opinions of Mokâtel and Bashar, both of a sect of the Morgians called Thaubanians, should not be omitted. The former asserted that disobedience hurts not him who professes the unity of God, and is endued with faith; and that no true believer shall be cast into hell: he also taught that God will surely forgive all crimes besides infidelity; and that a disobedient believer

¹ Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 256.
Firaz. sup. p. 254, &c.

² Abulfar. p. 169.
⁴ Ebn al Athîr, Al Motarrezî.

³ Al
⁵ Al Shahrest. ubi

⁶ Idem, ibid.

will be punished, at the day of resurrection, on the bridge ¹ laid over the midst of hell, where the flames of hell-fire shall catch hold on him, and torment him in proportion to his disobedience, and that he shall then be admitted into paradise ². The latter held, that if God do cast the believers guilty of grievous sins into hell, yet they will be delivered thence after they shall have been sufficiently punished; but that it is neither possible nor consistent with justice, that they should remain therein for ever: which, as has been observed, was the opinion of al Ashári.

III. The Khârejites are they who depart or revolt from the lawful prince established by public consent; and thence comes their name, which signifies revolters or rebels ³. The first who were so called were twelve thousand men who revolted from Ali, after they had fought under him at the battle of Seffein, taking offence at his submitting the decision of his right to the Khalifat, which Moâwiyah disputed with him, to arbitration, though they themselves had first obliged him to it ⁴. These were also called Mohakkemites, or Judiciarians; because the reason which they gave for their revolt was, that Ali had referred a matter concerning the religion of God to the judgment of men, whereas the judgment, in such case, belonged only unto God ⁵. The heresy of the Khârejites consisted chiefly in two things. 1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imâm, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of Koreish, nor even a freeman, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications; and also held, that if the Imâm turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death or deposed; and that there was no absolute necessity for any Imâm at all in the world. 2. In that they charged Ali with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men,

¹ See before, § IV. p. 125.

² Al Shahrest. ubi supra, p. 257.

³ Idem,

ib. p. 269.

⁴ See Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. V. I. p. 60 &c.

⁵ Al

Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 270.

which ought to have been determined by God alone ; and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him on that account¹. In the 38th year of the Hejra, which was the year following the revolt, all these Khârejites who persisted in their rebellion, to the number of four thousand, were cut to pieces by Ali, and as several historians² write, even to a man : but others say nine of them escaped, and that two fled into Omân, two into Kermân, two into Sejestân, two into Mesopotamia, and one to Tel Mawrûn ; and that these propagated their heresy in those places, the same remaining there to this day³. The principal sects of the Khârejites, besides the Mohakkemites above mentioned, are six ; which, though they greatly differ among themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, viz. that they absolutely reject Othmân and Ali, preferring the doing of this to the greatest obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms ; that they account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels ; and that they hold it necessary to resist the Imâm when he transgresses the law. One sect of them deserves more particular notice, viz.

The Waïdians ; so called from al Waïd, which signifies the threats denounced by God against the wicked. These are the antagonists of the Morgians, and assert that he who is guilty of a grievous sin ought to be declared an infidel or apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer⁴ : which opinion of theirs, as has been observed, occasioned the first rise of the Môtazalites. One Jaafar Ebn Mobashshar, of the sect of the Nodhâmians, was yet more severe than the Waïdians, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn⁵.

IV. The Shiites are the opponents of the Khâ-

¹ Idem, ib. ² Abu'lfeda, al Jannâbi, Elmacinus, p. 40. ³ Al Shahrestâni. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, ubi sup. p. 63. ⁴ Abulfar. p. 169. Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 256. ⁵ V. Poc. ib. p. 257.

rejites: their name properly signifies sectaries or adherents in general, but is peculiarly used to denote those of Ali Ebn Abi Tâleb; who maintain him to be lawful Khalif and Imâm, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. They also teach, that the office of Imâm is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, so that they may set up whom they please; but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the prophet could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people¹: nay some, thence called Imâmians, go so far as to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true Imâm². The principal sects of the Shiites are five, which are subdivided into an almost innumerable number; so that some understand Mohammed's prophecy of the seventy odd sects, of the Shiites only. Their general opinions are, 1. That the peculiar designation of the Imâm, and the testimonies of the Korân and Mohammed concerning him, are necessary points. 2. That the Imâms ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins as well as more grievous. 3. That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be no dissimulation. But in this last point some of the Zeidians, a sect so named from Zeid, the son of Ali, surnamed Zein al âbedîn, and great grandson of Ali, dissented from the rest of the Shiites³. As to other articles, wherein they agreed not, some of them came pretty near to the notions of the Môtazalites, others to those of the Moshabbehites, and others to those of the Sonnites⁴. Among the latter of these, Mohammed al Bâker, an-

¹ Al Shahrest. ib. p. 261. Abulfar. p. 169.² Al Shahrest. ib. p. 262.³ Idem, ib. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Schiah.⁴ V. Poc. ib.

other son of Zein al âbedîn's, seems to claim a place: for his opinion as to the will of God was, that God willeth something in us, and something from us, and that what he willeth from us he hath revealed to us; for which reason he thought it preposterous that we should employ our thoughts about those things which God willeth in us, and neglect those which he willeth from us: and as to God's decree, he held that the way lay in the middle, and that there was neither compulsion nor free liberty¹. A tenet of the Khat-tâbians, or disciples of one Abu'l Khattâb, is too peculiar to be omitted. These maintained paradise to be no other than the pleasures of this world, and hell-fire to be the pains thereof, and that the world will never decay: which proposition being first laid down, it is no wonder they went farther, and declared it lawful to indulge themselves in drinking wine and whoring, and to do other things forbidden by the law, and also to omit doing the things commanded by the law².

Many of the Shiites carried their veneration for Ali and his descendants so far, that they transgressed all bounds of reason and decency; though some of them were less extravagant than others. The Gholâïtes, who had their name from their excessive zeal for their Imâms, were so highly transported therewith, that they raised them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them; transgressing on either hand, by deifying of mortal men, and by making God corporeal: for one while they liken one of their Imâms to God, and another while they liken God to a creature³. The sects of these are various, and have various appellations in different countries. Abd'allah Ebn Saba (who had been a Jew, and had asserted the same thing of Joshua the son of Nun) was the ringleader

¹ Al Shahrest. ib. p. 263.

² Idem, et Ebn al Kossâ, ib. p. 260, &c.

³ Idem, ibid.

of one of them. This man gave the following salutation to Ali, viz. Thou art thou, *i. e.* Thou art God: and hereupon the Gholaites became divided into several species; some maintaining the same thing, or something like it, of Ali, and others of some one of his descendants; affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds, and fill the earth with justice¹. But how much soever they disagreed in other things, they unanimously held a metempsychosis, and what they call al Holûl, or the descent of God on his creatures; meaning thereby that God is present in every place, and speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual persons: and hence some of them asserted their Imâms to be prophets, and at length gods². The Nosairians and the Ishâkians taught that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies; and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner. They also assert that God hath appeared in the form of certain men; and since, after Mohammed, there hath been no man more excellent than Ali, and, after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that God hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands, for which reason, say they, we attribute divinity to them³. And, to support these blasphemies, they tell several miraculous things of Ali, as his moving the gates of Khaibar⁴, which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form God appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands; and therefore they say he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth⁵. In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in scripture

¹ Idem, ib. p. 264. V. Marracc. Prodr. part iii. p. 80, &c. p. 265.
² V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Or. Art. Hakem beamrillah.
³ See Prid. Life of Mah. p. 93.
⁴ Idem, ib. Abulfar. p. 169.
⁵ Al Shah. ubi supr. p. 266.

² Idem, ib.
⁴ Idem,
⁶ Al Shah. ubi

of Christ, by applying them to Ali. These extravagant fancies of the Shiites, however, in making their Imâms partakers of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those Imâms in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that most of the other Mohammedan sects are tainted with the same madness; there being many found among them, and among the Sûfis especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people¹. It may not be amiss to hear what al Ghazâli has written on this occasion. "Matters are come to that pass," says he, "that some boast of an union with God, and of discoursing familiarly with him, without the interposition of a veil, saying, It hath been thus said to us, and We have thus spoken; affecting to imitate Hosein al Hallâj, who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered by him, he having said (as was proved by credible witnesses), I am the Truth², or Abu Yazîd al Bastâmi, of whom it is related that he often used the expression, Sobhâni, *i. e.* Praise be unto me³! But this way of talking is the cause of great mischief among the common people; insomuch that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges; nature being tickled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their souls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the most stupid fellows from forming the like pretensions; and catching at such vain expressions: for whenever what they say is denied to be true, they fail not to reply, that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic; affirming learning to be a veil, and logic the work of the mind; whereas what they tell us appears

¹ Pocock. Spec. p. 267.² V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Hallage.³ V. Ibid. Art. Bastham.

only within, being discovered by the light of truth. But this is that truth the sparks whereof have flown into several countries, and occasioned great mischiefs ; so that it is more for the advantage of God's true religion to put to death one of those who utter such things than to bestow life on ten others¹."

Thus far have we treated of the chief sects among the Mohammedans of the first ages ; omitting to say any thing of the more modern sects, because the same are taken little or no notice of by their own writers, and would be of no use to our present design². It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great schism at this day subsisting between the Sonnites and the Shiites, or partisans of Ali, and maintained on either side with implacable hatred and furious zeal. Though the difference arose at first on a political occasion, it has notwithstanding been so well improved by additional circumstances, and the spirit of contradiction, that each party detest and anathematize the other as abominable heretics, and farther from the truth than either the Christians or the Jews³. The chief points wherein they differ are, 1. That the Shiites reject Abu Becr, Omar, and Othmân, the three first Khalifs, as usurpers and intruders ; whereas the Sonnites acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imâms. 2. The Shiites prefer Ali to Mohammed, or, at least, esteem them both equal ; but the Sonnites admit neither Ali nor any of the prophets to be equal to Mohammed. 3. The Sonnites charge the Shiites with corrupting the Korân, and neglecting its precepts ; and the Shiites retort the same charge on the Sonnites. 4. The Sonnites receive the Sonna, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority ; whereas the Shiites reject it as apocryphal and un-

¹ Al Ghazâli, apud Poc. ubi sup.

² The reader may meet with some account of them in Rycaut's State of the Ottom. Empire, l. 2. chap. 12.

³ V. ib. ch. 10. et Chardin. Voy. de Perse, T. II. p. 169, 170, &c.

worthy of credit. And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has long reigned between the Turks, who are Sonnites, and the Persians, who are of the sect of Ali. It seems strange that Spinosa, had he known of no other schism among the Mohammedans, should yet never have heard of one so publicly notorious as this between the Turks and Persians; but it is plain he did not, or he would never have assigned it as the reason of his preferring the order of the Mohammedan church to that of the Roman, that there have arisen no schisms in the former since its birth¹.

As success in any project seldom fails to draw in imitators, Mohammed's having raised himself to such a degree of power and reputation by acting the prophet induced others to imagine they might arrive at the same height by the same means. His most considerable competitors in the prophetic office were Moseilama and al Aswad, whom the Mohammedans usually call the two liars.

The former was of the tribe of Honeifa, who inhabited the province of Yamâma, and a principal man among them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to Mohammed in the ninth year of the Hejra, and professed himself a Moslem²: but on his return home, considering that he might possibly share with Mohammed in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with him in the commission to recal mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God³; and he published written revelations, in imitation of the Korân, of which Abu'lfaragius⁴ has preserved the following passage, viz. Now hath God been gracious

¹ The words of Spinosa are; *Ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ — politicum et plurimis lucrosum esse fateor; nec ad decipiendam plebem, et hominum animos coercendum commodiorem isto crederem, ni ordo Mahumedanæ ecclesiæ esset, qui longè eundem antecellit. Nam à quo tempore hæc superstitio incepit, nulla in eorum ecclesia schismata orta sunt.* Opera Posth. p. 613. * Abulfed. p. 160. ³ Idem, Elmac. p. 9. ⁴ Hist. Dynast. p. 164.

unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the soul which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels. Moseilama, having formed a considerable party among those of Honeifa, began to think himself upon equal terms with Mohammed, and sent him a letter, offering to go halves with him¹, in these words: From Moseilama the apostle of God, to Mohammed the apostle of God. Now let the earth be half mine, and half thine. But Mohammed, thinking himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer: From Mohammed the apostle of God, to Moseilama the liar. The earth is God's: he giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him². During the few months which Mohammed lived after this revolt, Moseilama rather gained than lost ground, and grew very formidable; but Abu Becr, his successor, in the eleventh year of the Hejra, sent a great army against him, under the command of that consummate general Khâled Ebn al Walid, who engaged Moseilama in a bloody battle, wherein the false prophet happening to be slain by Wahsha, the negro slave who had killed Hamza at Ohod, and by the same lance³, the Moslems gained an entire victory, ten thousand of the apostates being left dead on the spot, and the rest returning to Mohammedism⁴.

Al Aswad, whose name was Aihala, was of the tribe of Ans, and governed that and the other tribes of Arabs descended from Madhhaj⁵. This man was likewise an apostate from Mohammedism, and set up for himself the very year that Mohammed died⁶. He was surnamed Dhu'lhemâr, or the master of the ass, because he used frequently to say, The master

¹ Abulfed. ubi sup.

² Al Beidâwi, in Kor. c. 5.

³ Abulfed. ubi

sup. ⁴ Idem, ib. Abulfarag. p. 173. Elmac. p. 16, &c. See Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. Vol. I. p. 15, &c.

⁵ Al Soheili, apud Gagnier. in

not. ad Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 158.

⁶ Elmac. p. 9.

of the ass is coming unto me¹; and pretended to receive his revelations from two angels named Sohaik and Shoraik². Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the strange feats which he showed them, and the eloquence of his discourse³: by these means he greatly increased his power, and having made himself master of Najrân and the territory of al Tâ'yef⁴, on the death of Badhân, the governor of Yaman for Mohammed, he seized that province also, killing Shahr, the son of Badhân, and taking to wife his widow, whose father, the uncle of Firûz the Deilamite, he had also slain⁵. These news being brought to Mohammed, he sent to his friends, and to those of Hamdân; a party of whom, conspiring with Kais Ebn Abd' al Yaghûth, who bore al Aswad a grudge, and with Firûz and al Aswad's wife, broke by night into his house, where Firûz surprised him and cut off his head. While he was despatching he roared like a bull; at which his guards came to the chamber door, but were sent away by his wife, who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done the very night before Mohammed died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made, viz. I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of God, and that Aihala is a liar; and letters were immediately sent away to Mohammed, with an account of what had been done: but a messenger from heaven outstripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death; the letters themselves not arriving till Abu Becr was chosen Khalif. It is said that Mohammed on this occasion told those who attended him, that before the day of judgment thirty more impostors, besides Moseilama and al Aswad,

¹ Abulfed. ubi sup.² Al Soheili, ubi supra.³ Abulfed. ubi sup.⁴ Idem, & Elmac. ubi sup.⁵ Idem, al Jannâbi, ubi sup.

should appear, and every one of them set up for a prophet. The whole time from the beginning of al Aswad's rebellion to his death was about four months¹.

In the same eleventh year of the Hejra, but after the death of Mohammed, as seems most probable, Toleiha Ebn Khowailed set up for a prophet, and Sejâj Bint al Mondar² for a prophetess.

Toleiha was of the tribe of Asad, which adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of Ghatfân and Tay. Against them likewise was Khâled sent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging Toleiha with his shattered troops to retire into Syria, where he staid till the death of Abu Becr: then he went to Omar and embraced Mohammedism in his presence, and having taken the oath of fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people³.

Sejâj, surnamed Omm Sâder, was of the tribe of Tamîm, and the wife of Abu Cahdala, a soothsayer of Yamâma. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to Moseilama, and married him; but after she had staid with him three days, she left him, and returned home⁴. What became of her afterwards I do not find. Ebn Shohnah has given us part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration; but the same is a little too immodest to be translated.

In succeeding ages several impostors from time to time started up, most of whom quickly came to nothing: but some made a considerable figure, and propagated sects which continued long after their

¹ Idem, *ibid.*
of al Hareth.

V. Elmac. p. 16.

² Ebn Shohnah and Elmacinus call her the daughter
³ Elmac. p. 16. al Beidâwi, in Kor. c. 5.

⁴ Ebn Shohnah.

decease. I shall give a brief account of the most remarkable of them, in order of time.

In the reign of al Mohdi, the third Khalîf of the race of al Abbâs, one Hakem Ebn Hâshem¹, originally of Merû in Khorasân, who had been an under-secretary to Abu Moslem, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into Marwarâ'n-nahr, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the Arab writers al Mokanna, and sometimes al Borkaî, that is the veiled, because he used to cover his face with a vail, or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance; though his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as Moses did, viz. lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proselytes at Nakhshab and Kash, deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles, and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well for many nights together; whence he was also called, in the Persian tongue, Sâzende mah, or the moon-maker. This impious impostor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated divine honours to himself, pretending that the deity resided in his person: and the doctrine whereon he built this was the same with that of the Gholaites above mentioned, who affirmed a transmigration or successive manifestation of the divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from Adam to these latter days (of which opinion was also Abu Moslem himself²); but the particular doctrine of al Mokanna was, that the person in whom the deity

¹ Or Ebn Atâ, according to Ebn Shohnah. ² This explains a doubt of Mr. Bayle concerning a passage of Elmacinus, as translated by Erpenius, and corrected by Bespier. V. Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Abumuslimus, vers la fin, et Rem. B.

had last resided was the aforesaid Abu Moslem, and that the same had, since his death, passed into himself. The faction of al Mokanna, who had made himself master of several fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the Khalif was at length obliged to send an army to reduce him; at the approach whereof al Mokanna retired into one of his strongest fortresses, which he had well provided for a siege, and sent his emissaries abroad to persuade people that he raised the dead to life, and knew future events. But being straitly besieged by the Khalif's forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison in wine to his whole family and all that were with him in the castle, and when they were dead he burnt their bodies, together with their clothes and all the provisions, and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body's being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, as others say, into a tub of aqua fortis, or some other preparation, which consumed every part of him, except only his hair: so that when the besiegers entered the place they found no creature in it, save one of al Mokanna's concubines, who, suspecting his design, had hid herself, and discovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impostor designed among the remaining part of his followers; for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey-headed man, riding on a greyish beast, and that after so many years, he would return to them, and give them the earth for their possession: the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after¹, under the name of Mobeyyidites, or, as the Persians call

¹ They were a sect in the days of Abu'lfaragius, who lived about five hundred years after this extraordinary event; and may, for aught I know, be so still.

them, Sefid jâmeighiân, *i. e.* the clothed in white, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the Khalifs of the family of Abbâs, whose banners and habits were black. The historians place the death of al Mokanna in the 162d or 163d year of the Hejra¹.

In the year of the Hejra 201, Bâbec, surnamed al Khorremi, and Khorremdîn, either because he was of a certain district near Adherbijân, called Khorrem, or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in Persian, began to take on him the title of a prophet. I do not find what doctrine he taught; but it is said he professed none of the religions then known in Asia. He gained a great number of devotees in Adherbijân and the Persian Irâk, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the Khalîf al Mâmûn, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and one of them with his own hand; and by these victories he became so formidable that al Môtasem, the successor of al Mâmûn, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire against him. The general sent to reduce Bâbec was Afshid, who having overthrown him in battle, took his castles one after another with invincible patience, notwithstanding the rebels gave him great annoyance, and at last shut up the impostor in his principal fortress; which being taken, Bâbec found means to escape thence in disguise, with some of his family and principal followers; but taking refuge in the territories of the Greeks, was betrayed in the following manner. Sahel, an Armenian officer, happening to know Bâbec, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he sat down to eat, Sahel clapt himself down by him;

¹ Ex Abu'lfarag. Hist. Dyn. p. 226. Lobb al Tawârikh, Ebn Shohnah, al Tabarî, et Khondamir. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Hakem Ben Haschem.

at which Bâbec being surprised, asked him how he dared to take that liberty unasked? "It is true, great king," replied Sahel, "I have committed a fault; for who am I, that I should sit at your majesty's table?" And immediately sending for a smith, he made use of this bitter sarcasm, "Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them." After this Sahel sent him to Afshid, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind, by causing his mother, sister, and wife, to be ravished before his face; for so Bâbec used to treat his prisoners. Afshid, having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to al Môtasem, by whose order he was put to an ignominious and cruel death. This man had maintained his ground against the power of the Khalifs for twenty years, and had cruelly put to death above two hundred and fifty thousand people; it being his custom never to spare man, woman or child, either of the Mohammedans or their allies¹. The sectaries of Bâbec which remained after his death seem to have been entirely dispersed, there being little or no mention made of them by historians.

About the year 235, one Mahmûd Ebn Faraj pretended to be Moses resuscitated, and played his part so well that several people believed in him, and attended him when he was brought before the Khalif al Motawakkel. That prince, having been an ear-witness of his extravagant discourses, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death; which was accordingly executed; and his disciples were imprisoned till they came to their right minds².

The Karmatians, a sect which bore an inveterate

¹ Ex Abulfarag. p. 252, &c. Elmacin. p. 141, &c. and Khondamir. V. D'Herbel. Art. Bâbec.

² Ebn Shohnah. V. D'Herbel. p. 537.

malice against the Mohammedans, began first to raise disturbances in the year of the Hejra 278, and the latter end of the reign of al Mótamed. Their origin is not well known; but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call Karmata, came from Khûzistân to the villages near Cûfa, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day, pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain Imâm of the family of Mohammed: and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. But the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and having put him in prison, swore that he should die; which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown; and the accident being publicly known raised great admiration, his adherents giving it out that God had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt; notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into Syria, and was not heard of any more. His sect, however, continued and increased, pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer used by the Moslems, and introduced a new kind of fast; and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded in the Korân. They also turned the precepts of that book

into allegory ; teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their Imâm, and fasting that of silence, or concealing their dogmas from strangers : they also believed fornication to be the sin of infidelity ; and the guilt thereof to be incurred by those who revealed the mysteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are said to have produced a book, wherein was written (among other things), “ In the name of the most merciful God. Al Faraj Ebn Othmân, of the town of Nasrâna, saith, that Christ appeared unto him in a human form, and said, Thou art the invitation : thou art the demonstration : thou art the camel : thou art the beast : thou art John the son of Zacharias : thou art the Holy Ghost¹.” From the year above mentioned the Karmatians, under several leaders, gave almost continual disturbance to the Khalifs and their Mohammedan subjects for several years ; committing great disorders and outrages in Chaldea, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and at length establishing a considerable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of Abu Dhâher, famous for his taking of Mecca, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined soon after his time, and came to nothing².

To the Karmatians the Ismaelians of Asia were very near of kin, if they were not a branch of them : for these, who were also called al Molâhedah, or the Impious, and by the writers of the history of the holy wars, Assassins, agreed with the former in many respects ; such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the Mohammedan ; their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprise ; their pretended attachment to a certain Imâm of the house

¹ Apud Abulfar. p. 275.

² Ex Abulfar. ibid. Elmacino, p. 174, &c. Ebn Shohnah, Khondamir. V. D’Herbel. Art. Carmath.

of Ali, &c. These Ismaelians, in the year 488, possessed themselves of al Jebâl, in the Persian Irâk, under the conduct of Hasan Sabah; and that prince and his descendants enjoyed the same for a hundred and seventy-one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Holagu the Tartar¹.

The Bâtenites, which name is also given to the Ismaelians by some authors, and likewise to the Karmatians², were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the East³. The word signifies Esoterics, or people of inward or hidden light or knowledge.

Abu'l Teyyeb Ahmed, surnamed al Motanabbi, of the tribe of Jôfa, is too famous on another account not to claim a place here. He was one of the most excellent poets among the Arabians, there being none besides Abu Temâm who can dispute the prize with him. His poetical inspiration was so warm and exalted, that he either mistook it, or thought he could persuade others to believe it to be prophetic, and therefore gave himself out to be a prophet indeed; and thence acquired his surname, by which he is generally known. His accomplishments were too great not to have some success; for several tribes of the Arabs of the deserts, particularly that of Kelâb, acknowledged him to be what he pretended. But Lûlû, governor in those parts for Akhshîd king of Egypt and Syria, soon put a stop to the further progress of this new sect, by imprisoning their prophet, and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity; which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high esteem at the courts of several princes. Al Motanabbi lost his life, together with his son, on the bank

¹ V. Abulfar. p. 505, &c. D'Herbel. p. 104, 437, 505, 620, and 784. ² V. El-macin. p. 174, and 286. D'Herb. p. 194. ³ V. Abulfar. p. 361, 374, 380, 483.

of the Tigris, in defending the money which had been given him by Adado'ddawla, soltân of Persia, against some Arabian robbers who demanded it of him ; with which money he was returning to Cûfa, his native city. This accident happened in the year 354¹.

The last pretender to prophecy I shall now take notice of is one who appeared in the city of Amasia, in Natolia, in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats seduced a great multitude of people there. He was by nation a Turkmân, and called himself Bâba, and had a disciple named Isaac, whom he sent about to invite those of his own nation to join him. Isaac accordingly, coming to the territory of Someisat, published his commission, and prevailed on many to embrace his master's sect, especially among the Turkmâns ; so that at last he had six thousand horse at his heels, besides foot. With these Bâba and his disciple made open war on all who would not cry out with them, There is no God but God ; Bâba is the apostle of God ; and they put great numbers of Mohammedans, as well as Christians, to the sword in those parts ; till at length both Mohammedans and Christians, joining together, gave them battle, and having entirely routed them, put them all to the sword, except their two chiefs, who being taken alive, had their heads struck off by the executioner².

I could mention several other impostors of the same kind, which have arisen among the Mohammedans since their prophet's time, and very near enough to complete the number foretold by him : but I apprehend the reader is by this time tired as well as myself, and shall therefore here conclude this discourse, which may be thought already too long for an introduction.

¹ Præf. in Opera Motanabbis MS. V. D'Herbel. p. 638, &c.
p. 479. Ebn Shohnah, D'Herb. Art. Bâba.

* Abulfar.

AL KORAN.

CHAPTER I.

Intituled, the Preface, or Introduction^a; revealed at Mecca.

In the name of the most merciful GOD*.

PRAISE be to GOD, the LORD of all creatures^b; the most merciful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those

^a In Arabic *al Fâtihat*. This chapter is a prayer, and held in great veneration by the Mohammedans, who give it several other honourable titles; as the chapter of *prayer*, of *praise*, of *thanksgiving*, of *treasure*, &c. They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole Korân, and often repeat it in their devotions both public and private, as the Christians do the Lord's Prayer¹.

^b "This formula is prefixed to all the chapters (with the exception of one). It is expressly recommended in the Korân. The Mahometans pronounce it whenever they slaughter an animal, and at the commencement of their reading, and of all important actions. It is with them that which the sign of the cross is with Christians. Giaab, one of their celebrated authors, says, that when these words were sent down from heaven, the clouds fled on the side of the east, the winds were lulled, the sea was moved, the animals erected their ears to listen, the devils were precipitated from the celestial spheres," &c.—*Savary*.

^b The original words are *Rabbi 'ilâlamîna*, which literally signify *Lord of the worlds*; but *ilâlamîna*, in this and other places of the Korân, properly means the three species of rational creatures, Men, Genii, and Angels. Father Marracci has endeavoured to prove from this passage that Mohammed believed a plurality of worlds, which he calls the error of the Manichees, &c.²; but this imputation the learned Reland has shown to be entirely groundless³. Savary translates it "Sovereign of the worlds."

¹ V. Bobovium de Precib. Mohammed. p. 3, et seq. Alcorani, Part IV. p. 76, et in Notis ad Alc. cap. 1. p. 262.

² In Prodomo ad Refut. De Religion. Mohammed.

to whom thou hast been gracious ; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray^a.

CHAPTER II.

Intitled, the Cow^b; revealed partly at Mecca, and partly at Medina.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

AL. M.^c There is no doubt in this book ; *it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries^d of faith, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and distribute alms out of what we have bestowed on them ; and who believe in that revelation, which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down unto the prophets before thee^e, and have*

^a This last sentence contains a petition, that GOD would lead the supplicants into the true religion, by which is meant the Mohammedan, in the Korân often called *the right way* ; in this place more particularly defined to be, *the way of those to whom GOD hath been gracious*, that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded Mohammed ; under which appellations are also comprehended the Jews and Christians, such as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their respective institutions ; *not the way of the modern Jews*, whose signal calamities are marks of the just *anger* of GOD against them for their obstinacy and disobedience ; *nor of the Christians of this age*, who have departed from the true doctrine of Jesus, and are bewildered in a labyrinth of *error*¹.

This is the common exposition of the passage ; though al Zamakhshari, and some others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers ; and then the sense will run thus : *The way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, against whom thou art not incensed, and who have not erred*. Which translation the original will very well bear.

^b This title was occasioned by the story of the red heifer, mentioned p. 13.

^c As to the meaning of these letters, see the Preliminary Discourse, Sect. 3.

^d The Arabic word is *gheib*, which properly signifies a thing that is *absent*, at a great distance, or *invisible*, such as the resurrection, paradise, and hell. And this is agreeable to the language of scripture, which defines faith to be *the evidence of things not seen*².

^e The Mohammedans believe that GOD gave written revelations not only to Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, but to several other prophets³ ; though they acknowledge

¹ Jallalo'ddin. Al Beidawi, &c.

² Heb. xi. 1. See also Rom. xxiv. 25. 2 Corinth. iv. 18, and v. 7.

³ V. Reland. De Relig. Moham. p. 34, et Dissert. de Samaritanis, p. 34, &c.

firm assurance in the life to come^a: these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper. As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them, or do not admonish them; they will not believe. GOD hath sealed up their hearts and their hearing; a dimness covereth their sight, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. There are some who say, We believe in GOD, and the last day; but are not *really* believers: they seek to deceive GOD, and those who do believe, but they deceive themselves only, and are not sensible thereof. There is an infirmity in their hearts, and GOD hath increased that infirmity^b; and they shall suffer a most painful punishment, because they have disbelieved. When one saith unto them, Act not corruptly^c in the earth; they reply, Verily we are men of integrity^d. Are not they themselves corrupt doers? but they are not sensible thereof. And when one saith unto them, Believe ye as others^e believe; they answer, Shall we believe as fools believe? Are not they themselves fools? but they know it not. When they meet those who believe, they say, We do believe: but when they retire privately to their devils^f, they say, We really *hold* with you, and only mock *at those people*: GOD shall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety; they shall wander in

none of those which preceded the Korân to be now extant, except the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospel of Jesus; which yet they say were even before Mohammed's time altered and corrupted by the Jews and Christians; and therefore will not allow our present copies to be genuine.

^a The original word *al-âkherat* properly signifies the *latter part* of any thing, and by way of excellence, the *next life*, the *latter* or *future state* after death; and is opposed to *al-donya*, this *world*; and *al-oula*, the *former* or *present life*. The Hebrew word *ahharith*, from the same root, is used by Moses in this sense, and is translated *latter end*¹.

^b Mohammed here, and elsewhere frequently, imitates the truly inspired writers, in making GOD, by operation on the minds of reprobates, to prevent their conversion. This fatality or predestination, as believed by the Mohammedans, hath been sufficiently treated of in the Preliminary Discourse.

^c Literally *corrupt not in the earth*, by which some expositors understand the sowing of false doctrine, and corrupting people's principles.

^d According to the explication in the preceding note, this word must be translated *reformers*, who promote true piety by their doctrine and example.

^e The first companions and followers of Mohammed².

^f The prophet, making use of the liberty zealots of all religions have, by prescription, of giving ill language, bestows this name on the Jewish rabbins and Christian priests; though he seems chiefly to mean the former, against whom he had by much the greater spleen.

¹ Numb. xxiv. 20. Deut. viii. 16.

² Jallalo'ddin.

confusion. These are *the men* who have purchased error at the price of *true* direction : but their traffick hath not been gainful, neither have they been *rightly* directed. They are like unto one who kindleth a fire^a, and when it hath enlightened all around him^b, GOD taketh away their light^c and leaveth them in darkness, they shall not see ; *they are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore will they not repent. Or like a stormy cloud from heaven, fraught with darkness, thunder, and lightning^d, they put their fingers in their ears, because of the noise of the thunder, for fear of death ; GOD encompasseth the infidels : the lightning wanteth but little of taking away their sight ; so often as it enlighteneth them, they walk therein, but when darkness cometh on them, they stand still ; and if GOD so pleased, he would certainly deprive them of their hearing and their sight, for GOD is almighty. O men of Mecca, serve your LORD who hath created you, and those who have been before you : peradventure ye will fear *him* ; who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and the heaven as a covering, and hath caused water to descend from heaven, and thereby produced fruits for your sustenance. Set not up therefore any equals unto GOD, against your own knowledge. If ye be in doubt concerning that *revelation* which we have sent down unto our servant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witnesses, besides God^e, if ye say truth. But if ye

^a In this passage, Mohammed compares those who believed not in him to a man who wants to kindle a fire, but as soon as it burns up, and the flames give a light, shuts his eyes, lest he should see. As if he had said ; You, O Arabians, have long desired a prophet of your own nation, and now I am sent unto you, and have plainly proved my mission by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you resist conviction, and refuse to believe in me ; therefore shall GOD leave you in your ignorance.

^b The sense seems to be here imperfect, and may be completed, by adding the words, he *turns from it, shuts his eyes*, or the like.

^c That is of the unbelievers, to whom the word *their* being in the plural, seems to refer ; though it is not unusual for Mohammed, in affectation of the prophetic style, suddenly to change the number against all rules of grammar.

^d Here he compares the unbelieving Arabs to people caught in a violent storm. To perceive the beauty of this comparison, it must be observed, that the Moham-medan doctors say, this tempest is a type or image of the Korân itself : the thunder signifying the threats therein contained ; the lightning, the promises ; and the darkness, the mysteries. The terror of the threats makes them stop their ears, unwilling to hear truths so disagreeable ; when the promises are read to them they attend with pleasure ; but when any thing mysterious or difficult of belief occurs, they stand stock still, and will not submit to be directed.

^e *i. e.* Your false gods and idols.

do it not, nor shall *ever be able to do it* ; justly fear the fire whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for the unbelievers. But bear good tidings unto those who believe, and do good works, that they shall have gardens watered by rivers ; so often as they eat of the fruit thereof for sustenance, they *shall* say, This is what we have formerly eaten of ; and they shall be supplied with *several sorts of fruit* having a mutual resemblance to one another^a. There shall they enjoy wives subject to no impurity, and there shall they continue for ever. Moreover, GOD will not be ashamed to propound in a parable a gnat*, or even a more despicable thing^b : for they who believe will know it to be the truth from their LORD ; but the unbelievers will say, What meaneth GOD by this parable ? he will thereby mislead many, and will direct many thereby : but he will not mislead *any* thereby, except the transgressors, who make void the covenant of GOD after the establishing thereof, and cut in sunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth ; they shall perish. How is it that ye believe not in GOD ? Since ye were dead, and he gave you life^c ; he will hereafter cause you to die, and will again restore you to life ; then shall ye return unto him. It is he who hath created for you whatsoever is on earth, and then set his mind to *the creation of* heaven, and formed it into seven heavens ; he knoweth all things. When thy LORD said unto the angels, I am going to place a substitute on earth^d ;

^a Some commentators¹ approve of this sense, supposing the fruits of paradise, though of various tastes, are alike in colour and outward appearance : but others² think the meaning to be, that the inhabitants of that place will find there fruits of the same or the like kinds, as they used to eat while on earth.

* " GOD is no more ashamed to propound a gnat as a parable, than to use a more dignified illustration."—*Savary*.

^b This was revealed to take off an objection made to the Koran by the infidels, for condescending to speak of such insignificant insects, as the spider, the pismire, the bee, &c.³

^c *i. e.* Ye were dead while in the loins of your fathers, and he gave you life in your mothers' wombs ; and after death ye shall be again raised at the resurrection⁴.

^d Concerning the creation of Adam, here intimated, the Mohammedans have several peculiar traditions. They say the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil were sent by GOD, one after another, to fetch for that purpose seven handfuls of earth

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Al Zamakhshari.

³ Yahya.

⁴ Jallalo'ddin.

they said, Wilt thou place there one who will do evil therein, and shed blood? but we celebrate thy praise, and sanctify thee. GOD answered, Verily I know that which ye know not; and he taught Adam the names of all things, and then proposed them to the angels, and said, Declare unto me the names of these things if ye say truth. They answered, Praise be unto thee; we have no knowledge but what thou teachest us, for thou art knowing and wise. GOD said, O Adam, tell them their names. And when he had told them their names, GOD said, Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and earth, and know that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal^a? And when we said unto the angels, Worship^b Adam; they *all* worshipped *him*, except Eblis, *who* refused, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the *number of* unbe-

from different depths, and of different colours (whence some account for the various complexions of mankind¹); but the earth being apprehensive of the consequence, and desiring them to represent her fear to GOD, that the creature he designed to form would rebel against him, and draw down his curse upon her, they returned without performing GOD's command; whereupon he sent Azrail on the same errand, who executed his commission without remorse; for which reason, GOD appointed that angel to separate the souls from the bodies, being therefore called *the angel of death*. The earth he had taken was carried into Arabia, to a place between Mecca and Tayef, where being first kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards fashioned by GOD himself into a human form, and left to dry² for the space of forty days, or, as others say, as many years; the angels in the mean time often visiting it, and Eblis (then one of the angels who are nearest to GOD's presence, afterwards the devil) among the rest; but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing GOD designed that creature to be his superior, took a secret resolution never to acknowledge him as such. After this, GOD animated the figure of clay, and endued it with an intelligent soul, and when he had placed him in paradise, formed Eve out of his left side³.

^a This story Mohammed borrowed from the Jewish traditions; which say, that the angels having spoken of man with some contempt, when GOD consulted them about his creation, GOD made answer, that the man was wiser than they; and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and asked them their names; which they not being able to tell, he put the same question to the man, who named them one after another; and being asked his own name, and GOD's name, he answered very justly, and gave GOD the name of Jehovah⁴. The angels adoring of Adam is also mentioned in the Talmud⁵.

^b The original word signifies properly to *prostrate one's self*, till the forehead touches the ground, which is the humblest posture of adoration, and strictly due to GOD only; but it is sometimes, as in this place, used to express that civil worship or homage, which may be paid to creatures⁶.

¹ Al Termedi, from a tradition of Abu Musa al Ashari.

² Korân, c. 55.

³ Khond amir. Jallalo'ddin. Comment. in Korân, &c. V. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 55.

⁴ V. Rivin. Serpent. Seduct. p. 56.

⁵ R. Moses Haddar-

shan, in Beresbit rabbah.

⁶ Jallalo'ddin.

lievers^a. And we said, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden^b, and eat *of the fruit* thereof plentifully wherever ye will; but approach not this tree^c, lest ye become of *the number of the transgressors*. But Satan caused them to forfeit *paradise*^d, and turned them out of *the state of happiness* wherein they had been; whereupon we said, Get ye down^e, the one of you an enemy unto the other; and there shall be a dwelling place for you on earth*, and a provision for a season. And Adam learned words *of prayer* from his LORD, and GOD turned unto him, for he is easy to be reconciled and merciful. We said, Get ye all down from hence; hereafter shall there come unto you a

^a This occasion of the devil's fall has some affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among Christians¹, viz. that the angels being informed of God's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify human nature by Christ's assuming it, some of them, thinking their glory to be eclipsed thereby, envied man's happiness, and so revolted.

^b Mohammed, as appears by what presently follows, does not place this garden or paradise on earth, but in the seventh heaven².

^c Concerning this tree, or the forbidden fruit, the Mohammedans, as well as the Christians, have various opinions. Some say it was an ear of wheat; some will have it to have been a fig-tree, and others a vine³. The story of the fall is told, with some further circumstances, in the beginning of the seventh chapter.

^d They have a tradition that the devil, offering to get into paradise to tempt Adam, was not admitted by the guard; whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to Adam and his wife; but they all refused him, except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him. They add, that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears⁴.

^e The Mohammedans say, that when they were cast down from paradise, Adam fell on the isle of Ceylon or Serendib, and Eve near Joddah (the port of Mecca), in Arabia; and that, after a separation of 200 years, Adam was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named Arafat; and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon, where they continued to propagate their species⁵.

It may not be improper here to mention another tradition concerning the gigantic stature of our first parents. Their prophet, they say, affirmed Adam to have been as tall as a high palm-tree⁶; but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be such, on the top of a mountain in the isle of Ceylon, thence named Pico de Adam, and by the Arab writers Rahûn, being somewhat above two spans long⁷ (though others say it is seventy cubits long, and that when Adam set one foot here, he had the other in the sea⁸); and too little, if Eve were of so enormous a size, as is said, that when her head lay on one hill near Mecca, her knees rested on two others in the plain, about two musket shots asunder⁹.

* "We said to them, Get ye down. You have been mutual enemies. The earth shall be your habitation, and your inheritance, till the time."—*Savary*.

¹ Irenæus, Lact. Greg. Nyssen. &c.

² Vid. Marracc. in Alc. p. 24.

³ V. ibid. p. 22.

⁴ V. ib.

⁵ D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 55.

⁶ Yahya.

⁷ Monconys' Voyage, part 1. p. 372, &c. See Knox's Account of Ceylon.

⁸ Anci-

ennes Relations des Indes, &c. p. 3.

⁹ Monconys, ubi sup.

direction from me^a, and whoever shall follow my direction, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved; but they who shall be unbelievers, and accuse our signs^b of falsehood, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, therein shall they remain for ever. O children of Israel^c, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you; and perform *your* covenant with me, and I will perform *my* covenant with you; and revere me: and believe in the *revelation* which I have sent down, confirming that which is with you, and be not the first who believe not therein, neither exchange my signs for a small price*; and fear me. Clothe not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth against your own knowledge; observe the stated times of prayer, and pay your legal alms, and bow down yourselves with those who bow down. Will ye command men to do justice, and forget your own souls? yet ye read the book of *the law*: do ye not therefore understand? Ask help with perseverance and prayer; this indeed is grievous, unless to the humble, who *seriously* think they shall meet their LORD, and that to him they shall return. O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations: dread the day *wherein* one soul shall not make satisfaction for *another* soul, neither shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall

^a God here promises Adam that his will should be revealed to him and his posterity; which promise the Mohammedans believe was fulfilled at several times by the ministry of several prophets from Adam himself, who was the first, to Mohammed, who was the last. The number of books revealed unto Adam they say was ten¹.

^b This word has various significations in the Korân; sometimes, as in this passage, it signifies *divine revelation*, or *scripture* in general; sometimes the *verses* of the Korân in particular; and at other times *visible miracles*. But the sense is easily distinguished by the context.

^c The Jews are here called upon to receive the Korân, as verifying and confirming the Pentateuch, particularly with respect to the unity of God and the mission of Mohammed². And they are exhorted not to conceal the passages of their law, which bear witness to those truths, nor to corrupt them by publishing false copies of the Pentateuch, for which the writers were but poorly paid³.

* "Corrupt not my doctrine for vile gain. Fear me."—*Savary*.

¹ V. Hottinger Hist. Orient. p. 11. Reland. de Relig. Mohammed. p. 21.

² Yahya.

³ Jallalo'ddin.

any compensation be received, neither shall they be helped. *Remember* when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you, they slew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when we divided the sea for you and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on^a. And when we treated with Moses forty nights; then ye took the calf^b *for your God*, and did evil; yet afterwards we forgave you, that peradventure ye might give thanks. And when we gave Moses the book of the law, and the distinction *between good and evil*, that peradventure ye might be directed. And when Moses said unto his people, O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls*, by your taking the calf *for your God*; therefore be turned unto your Creator, and slay those among you *who have been guilty of that crime*^c; this will be better for you in the sight of your Creator: and *thereupon* he turned unto you, for he is easy to be reconciled, and merciful.

^a See the story of Moses and Pharaoh more particularly related chap. vii. and xx. &c.

^b The person who cast this calf, the Mohammedans say, was (not Aaron, but) al Sâmeri, one of the principal men among the children of Israel, some of whose descendants, it is pretended, still inhabit an island of that name in the Arabian Gulf¹. It was made of the rings² and bracelets of gold, silver, and other materials, which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians; for Aaron, who commanded in his brother's absence, having ordered al Sâmeri to collect those ornaments from the people, who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together till the return of Moses; al Sâmeri, understanding the founder's art, put them altogether into a furnace, to melt them down into one mass, which came out in the form of a calf³. The Israelites, accustomed to the Egyptian idolatry, paying a religious worship to this image, al Sâmeri went further, and took some dust from the footsteps of the horse of the angel Gabriel, who marched at the head of the people, and threw it into the mouth of the calf, which immediately began to low, and became animated⁴; for such was the virtue of that dust⁵. One writer says that all the Israelites adored this calf, except only 12,000⁶.

* "O my people, why did ye give yourselves up to wickedness, by worshipping a calf?"—*Savary*.

^c In this particular, the narration agrees with that of Moses, who ordered the Levites to slay *every man his brother*⁷: but the scripture says, *there fell of the people that day about 3000* (the vulgate says 23,000) *men*⁸; whereas the commentators of the Korân make the number of the slain to amount to 70,000; and add, that God sent a dark cloud which hindered them from seeing one another, lest the sight should move those who executed the sentence to compassion⁹.

¹ Geogr. Nubiens. p. 45.

² Korân, c. 7.

³ See Exod. xxxii. 24.

⁴ Korân, c. 7.

⁵ Jallalo'ddin, V. D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p. 650.

⁶ Abu'l-

fedâ.

⁷ Exod. xxxii. 26, 27.

⁸ Ibid. 28.

⁹ Jallalo'ddin, &c.

And when ye said, O Moses, we will not believe thee, until we see GOD manifestly; therefore a punishment came upon you, while ye looked on; then we raised you to life after ye had been dead, that peradventure ye might give thanks^a. And we caused clouds to overshadow you, and manna and quails^b to descend upon you, *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us*, but injured their own souls. And when we said, Enter into this city^c, and eat *of the provisions* thereof plentifully as ye will; and enter the gate worshipping, and say, Forgiveness^d! we will pardon you your sins, and give increase unto the well-doers. But the ungodly changed the expression into another^e, different from what had been spoken unto them; and we sent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven^f, because they had transgressed. And when Moses asked drink for his people, we said, Strike the rock^g with thy

^a The persons here meant are said to have been seventy men, who were made choice of by Moses, and heard the voice of God talking with him. But not being satisfied with that, they demanded to see God; whereupon they were all struck dead by lightning, and on Moses's intercession restored to life¹.

^b The eastern writers say, these quails were of a peculiar kind, to be found nowhere but in Yaman, from whence they were brought by a south wind in great numbers to the Israelites' camp in the desert². The Arabs call these birds *Salwâ*, which is plainly the same with the Hebrew *Salwim*, and say they have no bones, but are eaten whole³.

* "Your murmurs have been injurious only to yourselves."—*Savary*.

^c Some commentators suppose it to be Jericho; others, Jerusalem.

^d The Arabic word is *Hittaton*; which some take to signify that profession of the unity of God, so frequently used by the Mohammedans, *La ilâha illa 'llaho*, *There is no god but God*.

^e According to Jallalo'ddin, instead of *Hittaton*, they cried *Habbat fi shajrat*, i. e. a grain in an ear of barley; and in ridicule of the divine command to enter the city in an humble posture, they indecently crept in upon their breech.

^f A pestilence which carried off near 70,000 of them⁴.

^g The commentators say this was a stone which Moses brought from Mount Sinai, and the same that fled away with his garments which he laid upon it one day, while he washed: they add that Moses ran after the stone naked, till he found himself, ere he was aware, in the midst of the people, who on this accident were convinced of the falsehood of a report, which had been raised of their prophet, that he was bursten, or, as others write, an hermaphrodite⁵.

They describe it to be a square piece of white marble, shaped like a man's head; wherein they differ not much from the accounts of European travellers, who say this rock stands among several lesser ones, about 100 paces from Mount Horeb, and appears to have been loosened from the neighbouring mountains, having no coherence

¹ Ismael Ebn ali. Orient. p. 477.

² See Psalm lxxviii. 26.

³ V. D'Herbelot Bibl.

⁴ Jallalo'ddin.

⁵ Jallalo'ddin, Yahya.

rod ; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains^a according to the number of the tribes, and all men knew their respective drinking-place. Eat and drink of the bounty of GOD, and commit not evil on the earth, acting unjustly. And when ye said, O Moses, we will by no means be satisfied with one kind of food ; pray unto thy LORD therefore for us, that he would produce for us of that which the earth bringeth forth, herbs, and cucumbers, and garlick, and lentils, and onions^b ; Moses answered*, Will ye exchange that which is better, for that which is worse ? Get ye down into Egypt, for there shall ye find what ye desire : and they were smitten with vileness and misery, and drew on themselves indignation from GOD. This they suffered, because they believed not in the signs of GOD, and killed the prophets unjustly ; this, because they rebelled and transgressed. Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize, and Christians, and Sabians^c,

with the others ; that it is a huge mass of red granite, almost round on one side, and flat on the other ; twelve feet high, and as many thick, but broader than it is high, and about fifty feet in circumference¹.

^a Marracci thinks this circumstance looks like a Rabbinical fiction, or else that Mohammed confounds the water of the rock at Horeb, with the twelve wells at Elim² ; for he says, several who have been on the spot, affirm there are but three orifices whence the water issued³. But it is to be presumed that Mohammed had better means of information in this respect, than to fall into such a mistake ; for the rock stands within the borders of Arabia, and some of his countrymen must needs have seen it, if he himself had not, as it is most probable he had. And in effect he seems to be in the right. For one who went into those parts in the end of the fifteenth century tells us expressly, that the water issued from twelve places of the rock, according to the number of the tribes of Israel ; *egressæ sunt aquæ largissimæ in duodecim locis petræ, juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Israel*⁴. A late curious traveller⁵ observes, that there are twenty-four holes in the stone, which may be easily counted ; that is to say, twelve on the flat side, and as many on the opposite round side, every one being a foot deep, and an inch wide ; and he adds, that the holes on one side do not communicate with those on the other ; which a less accurate spectator not perceiving (for they are placed horizontally, within two feet of the top of the rock) might conclude they pierced quite through the stone, and so reckon them to be but twelve.

^b See Numb. xi. 5, &c.

* "Moses replied, Do ye wish to enjoy a more advantageous lot ? Return to Egypt ; you will find there that which you desire."—*Savary*.

^c From these words, which are repeated in the 5th chapter, several writers⁶ have wrongly concluded that the Mohammedans hold it to be the doctrine of their pro-

¹ Breydenbach. Itinerar. chartâ m. p. 1 Sicard, dans les Memoires des Missions, vol. 7. p. 14.

² Exod. xv. 27. Numb. xxxiii. 9.

³ Marracc.

Prodr. part iv. p. 80.

⁴ Breydenbach, ubi sup.

⁵ Sicard, ubi sup.

⁶ Selden. de Jure Nat. et Gentium sec. Hebr. l. 6, c. 12. Angel. a S. Joseph, Gazophylac. Persic. p. 365. Nic. Cusanus in Cribratione Alcorani, l. 3, c. 2, &c.

whoever believeth in GOD, and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their LORD; *there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved.* *Call to mind* also when we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain of *Sinai* over you^a, *saying*, Receive *the law* which we have given you, with a resolution *to keep it*, and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may beware. After this ye again turned back, so that if it had not been for GOD's indulgence and mercy towards you, ye had certainly been destroyed. Moreover ye know *what befell* those of your nation who transgressed on the sabbath day^b; We said unto them, Be ye *changed into apes*, driven away *from the society of men*. And we made them an example unto those who were

phet, that every man may be saved in his own religion, provided he be sincere and lead a good life. It is true, some of their doctors do agree this to be the purport of the words¹; but then they say the latitude hereby granted was soon revoked, for that this passage is abrogated by several others in the Koran, which expressly declare, that none can be saved who is not of the Mohammedan faith; and particularly by those words of the 3d chapter, *Whoever followeth any other religion than Islâm (i. e. the Mohammedan), it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day he shall be of those who perish*². However, others are of opinion that this passage is not abrogated, but interpret it differently; taking the meaning of it to be, that no man, whether he be a Jew, a Christian, or a Sabian, shall be excluded from salvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion and become a Moslem, which they say is intended by the following words, *Whoever believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right.* And this interpretation is approved by Mr. Reland, who thinks the words here import no more than those of the apostle, *In every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him*³; from which it must not be inferred, that the religion of nature, or any other, is sufficient to save, without faith in Christ⁴.

^a The Mohammedan tradition is, that the Israelites refusing to receive the law of Moses, God tore up the mountain by the roots, and shook it over their heads, to terrify them into a compliance⁵.

^b The story to which this passage refers is as follows. In the days of David some Israelites dwelt at Ailah, or Elath, on the Red Sea, where on the night of the sabbath the fish used to come in great numbers to the shore, and stay there all the sabbath, to tempt them; but the night following they returned into the sea again. At length, some of the inhabitants, neglecting God's command, caught fish on the sabbath, and dressed and ate them; and afterwards cut canals from the sea, for the fish to enter, with sluices, which they shut on the sabbath, to prevent their return to the sea. The other part of the inhabitants, who strictly observed the sabbath, used both persuasion and force to stop this impiety, but to no purpose, the offenders growing only more and more obstinate; whereupon David cursed the sabbath-breakers, and God transformed them into apes. It is said, that one going to see a friend of his that was among them, found him in the shape of an ape, moving his eyes about wildly, and asking him whether he was not such a one? the ape made a sign with

¹ See Chardin's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 326. 331.
de Abrogante et Abrogato. ³ Acts x. 35.

² Abu'lkasem Hebatallah

⁴ V. Reland. de Rel. Moham.

p. 128, &c. ⁵ Jallalo'ddin.

contemporary with them, and unto those who came after them, and a warning to the pious. And when Moses said unto his people, Verily GOD commandeth you to sacrifice a cow^a; they answered, Dost thou make a jest of us? Moses said, GOD forbid that I should be *one* of the foolish. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would show us what *cow* it is. Moses answered, He saith, She is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer, but of a middle age between both: do ye therefore that which ye are commanded. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD that he would shew us what colour she is of. Moses answered, He saith, She is a red cow^b, intensely red, her colour rejoiceth the beholders. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would *further* shew us what *cow* it is, for *several* cows with us are like one another, and we,

his head, that it was he; whereupon the friend said to him, Did not I advise you to desist? at which the ape wept. They add, that these unhappy people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards destroyed by a wind which swept them all into the sea¹.

^a The occasion of this sacrifice is thus related. A certain man at his death left his son, then a child, a cow-calf, which wandered in the desert till he came to age; at which time his mother told him the heifer was his, and bid him fetch her, and sell her for three pieces of gold. When the young man came to the market with his heifer, an angel in the shape of a man accosted him, and bid him six pieces of gold for her; but he would not take the money till he had asked his mother's consent; which when he had obtained, he returned to the market-place, and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer, provided he would say nothing of it to his mother; but the young man refusing, went and acquainted her with the additional offer. The woman perceiving it was an angel, bid her son go back and ask him what must be done with the heifer; whereupon the angel told the young man, that, in a little time, the children of Israel would buy that heifer of him at any price. And soon after it happened that an Israelite, named Hammiel, was killed by a relation of his, who, to prevent discovery, conveyed the body to a place considerably distant from that where the fact was committed. The friends of the slain man accused some other persons of the murder before Moses; but they denying the fact, and there being no evidence to convict them, God commanded a cow, of such and such particular marks, to be killed; but there being no other which answered the description, except the orphan's heifer, they were obliged to buy her for as much gold as her hide would hold; according to some, for her full weight in gold, and as others say, for ten times as much. This heifer they sacrificed, and the dead body being, by divine direction, struck with a part of it, revived, and standing up, named the person who had killed him; after which it immediately fell down dead again². The whole story seems to be borrowed from the red heifer, which was ordered by the Jewish law to be burnt, and the ashes kept for purifying those who happened to touch a dead corpse³; and from the heifer directed to be slain for the expiation of an uncertain murder. See Deut. xxi. 1—9.

^b The epithet in the original is *yellow*; but this word we do not use in speaking of the colour of cattle.

¹ Abu'lfeđa.² Idem.³ Numb. xix.

if GOD please, will be directed. Moses answered, He saith, She is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water the field, a sound one *, there is no blemish in her. They said, Now hast thou brought the truth. Then they sacrificed her; yet they wanted but little of leaving it undone^a. And when ye slew a man, and contended among yourselves concerning him, GOD brought forth *to light* that which ye concealed. For we said, Strike *the dead body* with part of *the sacrificed cow*^b: so GOD raiseth the dead to life, and sheweth you his signs, that peradventure ye may understand. Then were your hearts hardened after this, even as stones, or exceeding *them* in hardness: for from some stones have rivers bursted forth, others have been rent in sunder, and water hath issued from them, and others have fallen down for fear of GOD. But GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. Do ye therefore desire that *the Jews* should believe you? yet a part of them heard the word of GOD, and then perverted it, after they had understood it, against their own conscience. And when they meet the true believers, they say, We believe: but when they are privately assembled together, they say, Will ye acquaint them with what GOD hath revealed unto you, that they may dispute with you concerning it in the presence of your LORD? Do ye not therefore† understand? Do not they know that GOD knoweth that which they conceal as well as that which they publish? But there are illiterate men among them, who know not the book *of the law* ‡, but only lying stories, although they think otherwise. And woe unto them who transcribe *corruptly* the book *of the law*^c with their hands, and then say, This is from GOD: that

* "That hath not suffered the approach of the male."—*Savary*.

^a Because of the exorbitant price which they were obliged to pay for the heifer.

^b i. e. Her tongue, or the end of her tail.

† "See we not the consequences thereof?"—*Savary*.

‡ "Among them the vulgar know the Pentateuch only by tradition. They have but a blind belief."—*Savary*.

^c Mohammed again accuses the Jews of corrupting their scripture.

they may sell it for a small price. Therefore woe unto them because of that which their hands have written; and woe unto them for that which they have gained. They say, The fire of *hell* shall not touch us but for a *certain* number of days^a. Answer, Have ye received any promise from GOD *to that purpose*? for GOD will not act contrary to his promise: or do ye speak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Verily whoso doth evil^b, and is encompassed by his iniquity, they *shall be* the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever: but they who believe and do good works, they shall be the companions of paradise, they shall continue therein for ever. *Remember* also, when we accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, *saying*, Ye shall not worship *any other* except GOD, and *ye shall shew* kindness to your parents and kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and speak that which is good unto men, and be constant at prayer, and give alms. Afterwards ye turned back, except a few of you, and retired afar off. And when we accepted your covenant, *saying*, Ye shall not shed your *brothers'* blood, nor dispossess one another of your habitations; then ye confirmed *it*, and were witnesses *thereto*. Afterwards ye were they who slew one another^c, and turned several of your *brethren* out

^a That is, says Jallalo'ddin, forty; being the number of days that their forefathers worshipped the golden calf; after which they gave out that their punishment should cease. It is a received opinion among the Jews at present, that no person, be he ever so wicked, or of whatever sect, shall remain in hell above eleven months, or at most a year; except Dathan and Abiram, and atheists, who will be tormented there to all eternity¹.

^b By *evil* in this place the commentators generally understand polytheism or idolatry; which sin, the Mohammedans believe, unless repented of in this life, is unpardonable, and will be punished by eternal damnation; but all other sins they hold will at length be forgiven. This therefore is that irremissible impiety, in their opinion, which in the New Testament is called *the sin against the Holy Ghost*.

^c This passage was revealed on occasion of some quarrels which arose between the Jews of the tribes of Koreidha, and those of al Aws, al Nadhir, and al Khazraj, and came to that height that they took arms and destroyed one another's habitations, and turned one another out of their houses; but when any were taken captive, they redeemed them. When they were asked the reason of their acting in this manner, they answered, That they were commanded by their law to redeem the captives, but that they fought out of shame, lest their chiefs should be despised².

¹ Vid. Bartolocci Biblioth. Rabbinic. tom. 2, p. 128, et t. 3, p. 421.

² Jallalo'ddin.

of their houses, mutually assisting each other against them with injustice and enmity; but if they come captives unto you, ye redeem them: yet it is *equally* unlawful for you to dispossess them. Do ye therefore believe in part of the book *of the law*, and reject other part thereof? But whoso among you doth this, shall have no other reward than shame in this life, and on the day of resurrection they shall be sent to a most grievous punishment; for GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. These are they who have purchased this present life, at the price of that which is to come; wherefore their punishment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be helped. We formerly delivered the book *of the law* unto Moses, and caused apostles to succeed him, and gave evident miracles to Jesus the son of Mary, and strengthened him with the holy spirit^a. Do ye therefore, whenever an apostle cometh unto you with that which your souls desire not, proudly reject *him*, and accuse some of imposture, and slay others? *The Jews* say, Our hearts are uncircumcised: but GOD hath cursed them with their infidelity^{*}; therefore few shall believe. And when a book came unto them from GOD, confirming *the scriptures* which were with them, although they had before prayed for assistance against those who believed not^b, yet when that came unto them which they knew *to be from God*, they would not believe therein: therefore the curse of GOD shall be on the infidels. For a vile price have they sold their souls, that they should not believe in that which GOD hath sent down^c; out of envy, because GOD sendeth down his favours to such of his servants as he pleaseth: therefore they brought

^a We must not imagine Mohammed here means the Holy Ghost, in the Christian acceptation. The commentators say, this spirit was the angel Gabriel, who sanctified Jesus, and constantly attended on him¹.

^{*} "God hath cursed them because of their perfidy. O how small is the number of the true believers!"—*Savary*.

^b The Jews, in expectation of the coming of Mohammed (according to the tradition of his followers) used this prayer, *O God, help us against the unbelievers, by the prophet who is to be sent in the last times*².

^c The Korân.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Idem.

on themselves indignation on indignation; and the unbelievers shall suffer an ignominious punishment. When one saith unto them, Believe in that which GOD hath sent down; they answer, We believe in that which hath been sent down unto us^a: and they reject what *hath been revealed* since, although it be the truth, confirming that which is with them. Say, Why therefore have ye slain the prophets of GOD in times past, if ye be true believers? Moses formerly came unto you with evident signs, but ye afterwards took the calf *for your god* and did wickedly. And when we accepted your covenant, and lifted the mountain of *Sinai* over you^b; *saying*, Receive the law which we have given you, with a resolution *to perform it*, and hear; they said, We have heard, and have rebelled: and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts^c for their unbelief. Say, A grievous thing hath your faith commanded you, if ye be true believers^d. Say, if the future mansion with GOD be *prepared* peculiarly for you, exclusive of the rest of mankind, wish for death, if ye say truth: but they will never wish for it, because of that which their hands have sent before them^e; GOD knoweth the wicked-doers; and thou shalt surely find them of all men the most covetous of life, even *more* than the idolaters: one of them would desire his life to be prolonged a thousand years, but none shall reprieve himself from punishment, that his life may be prolonged: GOD seeth that which they do. Say, Who-

^a The Pentateuch.

^b See before p. 12.

^c *Moses took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water (of the brook that descended from the mount), and made the children of Israel drink of it*¹.

^d Mohammed here infers from their forefathers' disobedience in worshipping the calf, at the same time that they pretended to believe in the law of Moses, that the faith of the Jews in his time was as vain and hypocritical, since they rejected him, who was foretold therein, as an impostor².

^e That is, by reason of the wicked forgeries which they have been guilty of in respect to the scriptures. An expression much like that of St. Paul, where he says, *that some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment*³.

¹ Exod. xxxii. 20. Deut. ix. 21.

² Jallalo'ddin. Yahya, al Beidawi.

³ 1 Tim. v. 24.

ever is an enemy to Gabriel ^a (for he hath caused *the Koran* to descend on thy heart, by the permission of GOD, confirming that which was before *revealed*, a direction, and good tidings to the faithful); whosoever is an enemy to GOD, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel, or Michael, verily GOD is an enemy to the unbelievers. And now we have sent down unto thee evident signs ^b, and none will disbelieve them but the evil-doers. Whenever they make a covenant, will some of them reject it? yea the greater part of them do not believe. And when there came unto them an apostle from GOD, confirming that *scripture* which was with them, some of those to whom the scriptures were given cast the book of GOD behind their backs, as if they knew it not: and they followed *the device* which the devils devised against the kingdom of Solomon ^c; and Solomon was not an unbeliever; but the devils believed not, they taught men sorcery, and that which was sent down to the two angels at Babel*, Harût,

^a The commentators say, that the Jews asked, what angel it was that brought the divine revelations to Mohammed; and being told that it was Gabriel, they replied, that he was their enemy, and the messenger of wrath and punishment; but if it had been Michael, they would have believed in him, because that angel was their friend, and the messenger of peace and plenty. And on this occasion, they say, this passage was revealed ¹.

That Michael was really the protector or guardian angel of the Jews, we know from scripture ²; and it seems that Gabriel was, as the Persians call him, *the angel of revelations*, being frequently sent on messages of that kind ³; for which reason, it is probable, Mohammed pretended he was the angel from whom he received the Koran.

^b *i. e.* The revelations of this book.

^c The devils having, by God's permission, tempted Solomon without success, they made use of a trick to blast his character. For they wrote several books of magic, and hid them under that prince's throne, and after his death told the chief men that if they wanted to know by what means Solomon had obtained his absolute power over men, genii, and the winds, they should dig under his throne; which having done, they found the aforesaid books, which contained impious superstitions. The better sort refused to learn the evil arts therein delivered, but the common people did; and the priests published this scandalous story of Solomon, which obtained credit among the Jews, till God, say the Mohammedans, cleared that king by the mouth of their prophet, declaring that Solomon was no idolater ⁴.

* "He (the devil) taught unto men magic and the science of the two angels, Harût and Marût, who are condemned to remain at Babylon."—*Savary*.

¹ Jallalo'ddin. al Zamakh. Yahya.
and ix. 21. Luke i. 19, 26. See Hyde de Rel. Vet. Persar. p. 263.

² Dan. xii. 1.

³ Ibid. ch. viii. 16.

⁴ Yahya. Jallalo'ddin.

and Marût^a: yet those two taught no man until they had said, Verily we are a temptation, therefore be not an unbeliever. So men learned from those two *a charm* by which they might cause division between a man and his wife^{*}; but they hurt none thereby, unless by GOD's permission; and they learned that which would hurt them, and not profit them; and yet they knew that he who bought that *art* should have no part in the life to come, and woful *is the price* for which they have sold their souls, if they knew it. But if they had believed, and feared GOD, verily the reward *they would have had* from GOD would have been better, if they had known it. O true believers, say not *to our apostle*, Raïna; but say Ondhorna^b; and hearken: the infidels shall suffer a grievous punishment. It is not the desire of the unbelievers, either among those unto whom the scriptures have been given, or among the idolaters, that any good should be sent down unto you from your LORD: but GOD will appropriate his mercy unto

^{*} Some say only that these were two magicians or angels sent by God to teach men magic, and to tempt them¹. But others tell a longer fable; that the angels expressing their surprise at the wickedness of the sons of Adam, after prophets had been sent to them with divine commissions, God bid them choose two out of their own number to be sent down to be judges on earth. Whereupon they pitched upon Harût and Marût, who executed their office with integrity for some time, till Zohara, or the planet Venus, descended and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint against her husband (though others say she was a real woman.) As soon as they saw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to satisfy their desires; but she flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels also returned, but were not admitted. However, on the intercession of a certain pious man, they were allowed to choose whether they would be punished in this life, or in the other; whereupon they chose the former, and now suffer punishment accordingly in Babel, where they are to remain till the day of judgment. They add that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them, and hear their voice, but cannot see them².

This story Mohammed took directly from the Persian Magi, who mention two rebellious angels of the same names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the territory of Babel³. And the Jews have something like this, of the angel Shamhozai, who having debauched himself with women, repented, and by way of penance, hung himself up between heaven and earth⁴.

^{*} "They taught the difference between man and woman."—*Savary*.

^b Those two Arabic words have both the same signification, viz. *Look on us*; and are a kind of salutation. Mohammed had a great aversion to the first, because the Jews frequently used it in derision, it being a word of reproach in their tongue⁵. They alluded, it seems, to the Hebrew verb רוּאָ *ruá*, which signifies to be bad or mischievous.

¹ Jallalo'ddin. ² Yahya, &c. ³ V. Hyde, ubi sup. cap. 12. ⁴ Bereshit rabbah, in Genes. vi. 2. ⁵ Jallalo'ddin.

whom he pleaseth; for GOD is exceeding beneficent. Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause *thee* to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it. Dost thou not know that GOD is almighty? Dost thou not know that unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? neither have ye any protector or helper except GOD. Will ye require of your apostle according to that which was formerly required of Moses^a? but he that hath exchanged faith for infidelity, hath already erred from the strait way. Many of those unto whom the scriptures have been given, desire to render you again unbelievers, after ye have believed; out of envy from their souls, even after the truth is become manifest unto them; but forgive *them*, and avoid *them*, till GOD shall send his command; for GOD is omnipotent. Be constant in prayer, and give alms; and what good ye have sent before for your souls, ye shall find it with GOD; surely GOD seeth that which ye do. They say, Verily none shall enter paradise, except they who are Jews or Christians^b: this is their wish. Say, Produce your proof *of this*, if ye speak truth. Nay, but he who resigneth himself^c to GOD, and doth that which is right^d, he shall have his reward with his LORD; there shall *come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. The Jews say, The Christians are *grounded* on nothing^e; and the Christians say, The Jews are *grounded* on nothing: yet they *both* read the scriptures. So likewise say they who know not *the scripture*, according to their saying. But GOD shall judge between them on the day of the resurrection, concerning that about which

^a Namely, to see God manifestly¹.

^b This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute which Mohammed had with the Jews of Medina, and the Christians of Najrân, each of them asserting that those of their religion only should be saved².

^c Literally, *resigneth his face*, &c.

^d That is, asserteth the unity of God³.

^e The Jews and Christians are here accused of denying the truth of each other's religion, notwithstanding they read the scriptures. Whereas the Pentateuch bears testimony to Jesus, and the Gospel bears testimony to Moses⁴.

¹ See before, p. 10.

² Jallalo'ddin.

³ Idem.

⁴ Idem.

they *now* disagree. Who is more unjust than he who prohibiteth the temples of GOD^a, that his name should be remembered therein, and who hasteth to destroy them? Those men cannot enter therein, but with fear: they shall have shame in this world, and in the next a grievous punishment. To GOD *belongeth* the east and the west; therefore whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of GOD; for GOD is omnipresent and omniscient. They say, GOD hath begotten children^b: GOD forbid! To him *belongeth* whatever is in heaven, and on earth; all is possessed by him, the Creator of heaven and earth; and when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is. And they who know not *the scriptures* say, Unless GOD speak unto us, or thou show us a sign, *we will not believe*. So said those before them, according to their saying: their hearts resemble each other. We have already shown manifest signs unto people who firmly believe; we have sent thee in truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a preacher; and thou shalt not be questioned concerning the companions of hell. But the Jews will not be pleased with thee, neither the Christians, until thou follow their religion; say, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction. And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou shalt find no patron or protector against GOD. They to whom we have given the book *of the Koran*, and who read it with its true reading, they believe therein; and whoever believeth not therein, they shall perish. O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you before all nations; and

^a Or hindereth men from paying their adorations to God in those sacred places. This passage, says Jallalo'ddin, was revealed on news being brought, that the Romans had spoiled the temple of Jerusalem; or else when the idolatrous Arabs obstructed Mohammed's visiting the temple of Mecca, in the expedition of al Hodeibiya, which happened in the sixth year of the Hejra¹.

^b This is spoken not only of the Christians, and of the Jews (for they are accused of holding Ozair, or Ezra, to be the son of God), but also the pagan Arabs, who imagined the angels to be daughters of God.

dread the day wherein *one* soul shall not make satisfaction for *another* soul, neither shall any compensation be accepted from them, nor shall any intercession avail, neither shall they be helped. *Remember* when the LORD tried Abraham by *certain* words^a, which he fulfilled: GOD said, Verily I will constitute thee a model of religion^b * unto mankind; he answered, And also of my posterity; GOD said, My covenant doth not comprehend the ungodly. And when we appointed the *holy* house^c of *Mecca* to be a place of resort for mankind, and a place of security; and *said*, Take the station of Abraham^d for a place of prayer; and we covenanted with Abraham and Ismael, that they should cleanse my house for those who should compass it †, and those who should be devoutly assiduous *there*, and those who should bow down and worship. And when Abraham said, LORD, make this a territory of security, and bounteously bestow fruits on its inhabitants, such of them as believe in GOD and the last day; GOD answered, And whoever believeth not, I will bestow on him little ‡, afterwards I will drive him to the punishment of *hell* fire; an ill journey shall it be! And

^a God tried Abraham chiefly by commanding him to leave his native country, and to offer his son. But the commentators suppose the trial here meant related only to some particular ceremonies, such as circumcision, pilgrimage to the Caaba, several rites of purification, and the like¹.

^b I have rather expressed the meaning, than truly translated the Arabic word *Imâm*, which answers to the Latin *Antistes*. This title the Mohammedans give to their priests, who begin the prayers in their Mosques, and whom all the congregation follow.

* "I will establish thee the leader of the people."—*Savary*.

^c That is the Caaba, which is usually called, by way of eminence, *the House*. Of the sanctity of this building and other particulars relating to it, see the Preliminary Discourse, sect. iv.

^d A place so called within the inner enclosure of the Caaba, where they pretend to show the print of his foot in a stone².

† "Purify my temple³ from the idols which are around it, and from those which are within it, and from their worshippers."—*Savary*.

‡ "I will extend, replied the Lord, my gifts even to the unbelievers, but they shall enjoy little. They shall be condemned to the flames, and deplorable shall be their end."—*Savary*.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² See the Prelim. Disc. § IV.

³ The descendants of Abraham and of Ishmael lost the belief of an only God. They still revered the temple of Mecca as the work of these two patriarchs, but around it and within it they had placed idols, to which they paid divine worship. Mahomet overthrew them, and restored the worship of the only God.—*Savary*.

when Abraham and Ismael raised the foundations of the house, *saying*, LORD, accept *it* from us, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth: LORD, make us also resigned^a unto thee, and of our posterity a people resigned unto thee, and show us our holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for thou art easy to be reconciled, and merciful: LORD, send them likewise an apostle from among them, who may declare thy signs unto them, and teach them the book of *the Koran* and wisdom, and may purify them; for thou art mighty and wise. Who will be averse to the religion of Abraham, but he whose mind is infatuated? Surely we have chosen him in this world, and in that which is to come he shall be one of the righteous. When his LORD said unto him, Resign thyself *unto me*; he answered, I have resigned myself unto the LORD of all creatures. And Abraham bequeathed this *religion* to his children, and Jacob *did the same, saying*, My children, verily GOD hath chosen this religion for you, therefore die not, unless ye also be resigned. Were ye present when Jacob was at the point of death? when he said to his sons, Whom will ye worship after me? They answered, We will worship thy GOD, and the GOD of thy fathers Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, one GOD, and to him will we be resigned. That people are now passed away, they have what they have gained^b, and ye shall have what ye gain; and ye shall not be questioned concerning that which they have done. They say, Become Jews or Christians that ye may be directed. Say, Nay, *we follow* the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who was no idolater. Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which hath been sent down unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered unto Moses,

^a The Arabic word is Moslemûna, in the singular Moslem, which the Mohammedans take as a title peculiar to themselves. The Europeans generally write and pronounce it Musulman.

^b Or deserved. The Mohammedan notion, as to the imputation of moral actions to man, which they call *gain*, or *acquisition*, is sufficiently explained in the Preliminary Discourse.

and Jesus, and that which was delivered unto the prophets from their LORD: We make no distinction between any of them, and to GOD are we resigned. Now if they believe according to what ye believe, they are surely directed, but if they turn back, they are in schism. GOD shall support thee against them, for he is the hearer, the wise. The baptism of GOD ^a *have we received*, and who is better than GOD to baptize? him do we worship. Say, Will ye dispute with us concerning GOD ^b, who is our LORD, and your LORD? we have our works, and ye have your works, and unto him are we sincerely devoted. Will ye say, truly Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes were Jews or Christians? Say, Are ye wiser, or GOD? And who is more unjust than he who hideth the testimony which he hath *received* from GOD ^c? But GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. That people are passed away, they have what they have gained, and ye shall have what ye gain, nor shall ye be questioned concerning that which they have done.* The II. foolish men will say, What hath turned them from their Keblah, towards which they formerly *prayed* ^d? Say, Unto GOD *belongeth* the east and the west: he directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. Thus

^a By *baptism* is to be understood the religion which God instituted in the beginning; because the signs of it appear in the person who professes it, as the signs of water appear in the clothes of him that is baptized ¹.

^b These words were revealed, because the Jews insisted, that they first received the scriptures, that their Keblah was more ancient, and that no prophets could arise among the Arabs; and therefore if Mohammed was a prophet, he must have been of their nation ².

^c The Jews are again accused of corrupting and suppressing the prophecies in the Pentateuch relating to Mohammed.

^d At first, Mohammed and his followers observed no particular rite in turning their faces towards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed; it being declared to be perfectly indifferent ³. Afterwards, when the prophet fled to Medina, he directed them to turn towards the temple of Jerusalem (probably to ingratiate himself with the Jews), which continued to be their Keblah for six or seven months; but either finding the Jews too intractable, or despairing otherwise to gain the pagan Arabs, who could not forget their respect to the temple of Mecca, he ordered that prayers for the future should be towards the east. This change was made in the second year of the Hejra ⁴, and occasioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconstancy ⁵.

¹ Jallalo'ddin. Moham. p. 54.

² Idem.
⁵ Jallalo'ddin.

³ See before p. 21.

⁴ V. Abulf. Vit.

have we placed you, *O Arabians* an intermediate nation^{a*}, that ye may be witnesses against *the rest of mankind*, and that the apostle may be a witness against you. We appointed the Keblah towards which thou didst formerly *pray*, only that we might know him who followeth the apostle, from him who turneth back on his heels^b; though this *change* seem a great matter, unless unto those whom GOD hath directed. But GOD will not render your faith of none effect^c; for GOD is gracious and merciful unto man. We have seen thee turn about thy face towards heaven *with uncertainty*, but we will cause thee to turn thyself towards a Keblah that will please thee. Turn, therefore, thy face towards the holy temple of *Mecca*; and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that *place*. They to whom the scripture hath been given, know this to be truth from their LORD. GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. Verily although thou shouldst show unto those to whom the scripture hath been given all kinds of signs, yet they will not follow thy Keblah, neither shalt thou follow their Keblah; nor will one part of them follow the Keblah of the other. And if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, verily thou wilt become *one* of the ungodly. They to whom we have given the scripture know *our apostle*, even as they know their own children; but some of them hide the truth, against their own knowledge. Truth is from thy LORD, therefore thou shalt not doubt. Every sect hath a certain tract of *heaven* to which they turn themselves *in prayer*; but do ye strive to run after good things: wherever ye be, GOD will bring you all back *at the resurrection*, for GOD is almighty. And from what place soever thou comest

^a This seems to be the sense of the words; though the commentators¹ will have the meaning to be, that the Arabians are here declared to be a most *just* and *good* nation.

^{*} "We have established you, O chosen people, to bear witness against the rest of the nation, as your apostle will bear it against you."—*Savary*.

^b i. e. Returneth to Judaism.

^c Or will not suffer it to go without its reward, while ye prayed towards Jerusalem.

¹ Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, &c.

forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; for this is truth from thy LORD; neither is GOD regardless of that which ye do. From what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; and wherever ye be, thitherward turn your faces, lest men have matter of dispute against you; but as for those among them who are unjust doers, fear them not, but fear me, that I may accomplish my grace upon you, and that ye may be directed. As we have sent unto you an apostle from among you ^a, to rehearse our signs unto you, and to purify you, and to teach you the book of *the Koran* and wisdom, and to teach you that which ye knew not: therefore remember me, and I will remember you, and give thanks unto me, and be not unbelievers. O *true* believers, beg assistance with patience and prayer, for GOD is with the patient. And say not of those who are slain in fight for the religion of GOD ^b, that *they are dead*; yea, *they are living* ^c: but ye do not understand. We will surely prove you *by afflicting you* in some measure with fear, and hunger, and decrease of wealth, and *loss* of lives, and *scarcity* of fruits: but bear good tidings unto the patient, who when a misfortune befalleth them, say, We are GOD's, and unto him shall we surely return ^d. Upon them shall be blessings from their LORD and mercy, and they are the rightly directed. Moreover Safa and Merwah are *two* of the monuments of God: whoever therefore goeth on pilgrimage to the temple of *Mecca* or visiteth it ^e, it shall be no crime in him if he compass them both ^e.

^a That is, of your own nation.

^b The original words are literally, *who are slain in the way of God*; by which expression, frequently occurring in the Korân, is always meant war undertaken against unbelievers for the propagation of the Mohammedan faith.

^c The souls of martyrs (for such they esteem those who die in battle against infidels) says Jallalo'ddin, are in the crops of green birds, which have liberty to fly wherever they please in paradise, and feed on the fruits thereof.

^d An expression frequently in the mouths of the Mohammedans, when under any great affliction, or in any imminent danger.

^e "He who shall have performed the pilgrimage of Mecca, and shall have visited the holy house, shall be exempted from offering an expiatory victim, provided that he maketh the circuit of those two mountains. He who goeth beyond what the precept requireth shall experience the gratitude of the Lord."—*Savary*.

^e Safâ and Merwa are two mountains near Mecca, whereon were anciently two

And as for him who voluntarily performeth a good work; verily GOD is grateful and knowing. They who conceal any of the evident signs, or the direction which we have sent down, after what we have manifested unto men in the scripture, GOD shall curse them; and they who curse shall curse them^a. But as for those who repent and amend, and make known *what they concealed*, I will be turned unto them, for I am easy to be reconciled and merciful. Surely they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, upon them shall be the curse of GOD, and of the angels, and of all men; they shall remain under it for ever, their punishment shall not be alleviated, neither shall they be regarded^b. Your GOD is one GOD; there is no GOD but He, the most merciful. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, and in the ship which saileth in the sea, *loaden* with what is profitable for mankind, and in the *rain* water which GOD sendeth from heaven, quickening thereby the dead earth, and replenishing the same with all sorts of cattle, and in the change of winds, and the clouds that are compelled to do service^c between heaven and earth, are signs to people of understanding: yet some

idols, to which the pagan Arabs used to pay a superstitious veneration¹. Jallalo'ddin says this passage was revealed because the followers of Mohammed made a scruple of going round these mountains, as the idolaters did. But the true reason of his allowing this relic of ancient superstition seems to be the difficulty he found in preventing it. Abu'l Kasem Hebatollah thinks these last words are abrogated by those other, *Who will reject the religion of Abraham, except he who hath infatuated his soul*². So that he will have the meaning to be quite contrary to the letter, as if it had been, *it shall be no crime in him if he do not compass them*. However, the expositors are all against him³, and the ceremony of running between these two hills is still observed at the pilgrimage⁴.

^a That is, the angels, the believers, and all things in general⁵. But Yahya interprets it of the curses which will be given to the wicked, when they cry out because of the punishment of the sepulchre⁶, by all who hear them, that is by all creatures except men and genii.

^b Or, as Jallalo'ddin expounds it, God will not wait for their repentance.

^c The original word signifies properly *that are pressed or compelled to do personal service without hire*; which kind of service is often exacted by the eastern princes of their subjects, and is called by the Greek and Latin writers, *Angaria*. The scripture often mentions this sort of compulsion or force⁷.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. p. 27.

² See before p. 23.

³ V. Marracc. in

Alc. p. 69, &c.

⁴ See the Prelim. Disc. sect. IV.

⁵ Jallalo'ddin.

⁶ See

Prelim. Disc. sect. IV.

⁷ Matt. v. 41. xxvii. 32, &c.

men take idols beside GOD, and love them as with the love *due to GOD*; but the true believers are more fervent in love towards GOD. Oh that they who act unjustly did perceive^a, when they behold their punishment, that all power belongeth unto GOD, and that he is severe in punishing! When those who have been followed shall separate themselves from their followers^b, and shall see the punishment, and the cords *of relation* between them shall be cut in sunder; the followers shall say, If we could return *to life*, we would separate ourselves from them, as they have *now* separated themselves from us. So GOD will show them their works; they shall sigh grievously, and shall not come forth from the fire *of hell*. O men, eat of that which is lawful and good on the earth; and tread not in the steps of the devil, for he is your open enemy. Verily he commandeth you evil and wickedness, and that ye should say that of GOD which ye know not. And when it is said unto them *who believe not*, Follow that which GOD hath sent down; they answer, Nay, but we will follow that which we found our fathers practise. What? though their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? The unbelievers are like unto one who crieth aloud to that which heareth not so much as *his calling**, or the sound of *his voice*. *They are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore do they not understand. O true believers, eat of the good things which we have bestowed on you for food, and return thanks unto GOD, if ye serve him. Verily he hath forbidden you *to eat* that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which any other name but GOD's hath been invoked^c. But he who is

^a Or it may be translated, *Although the ungodly will perceive, &c.* But some copies instead of *yara*, in the third person, read *tara*, in the second; and then it must be rendered, *Oh if thou didst see when the ungodly behold their punishment, &c.*

^b That is, when the broachers or heads of new sects shall at the last day forsake or wash their hands of their disciples, as if they were not accomplices in their superstitions.

^c The unbelievers are like unto him who heareth the sound of the voice without comprehending any thing. Deaf, dumb, and blind, they have no understanding." — *Savary*.

^c For this reason, whenever the Mohammedans kill any animal for food, they

forced by necessity, not lusting, nor returning *to transgress*, it shall be no crime in him *if he eat of those things*, for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who conceal *any part* of the scripture which GOD hath sent down unto them, and sell it for a small price, they shall swallow into their bellies nothing but fire; GOD shall not speak unto them on the day of resurrection, neither shall he purify them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. These are they who have sold direction for error, and pardon for punishment: but how great will their suffering be in the fire! This *they shall endure*, because GOD sent down the book *of the Koran* with truth, and they who disagree concerning that book are certainly in a wide mistake. It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces *in prayer* towards the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believeth in GOD and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets; who giveth money for GOD's sake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those who ask, and for redemption of captives; who is constant at prayer, and giveth alms; and of those who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted, and who behave themselves patiently in adversity, and hardships, and in time of violence: these are they who are true, and these are they who fear GOD. O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the slain: the free *shall die* for the free, and the servant for the servant, and a woman for a woman^a: but he whom his brother shall forgive may be prosecuted*, *and obliged to make satisfaction* according to what is just, and a

always say *Bismi'llah*, or *In the name of God*; which if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it.

^a This is not to be strictly taken; for, according to the Sonna, a man also is to be put to death for the murder of a woman. Regard is also to be had to difference in religion, so that a Mohammedan, though a slave, is not to be put to death for an infidel, though a freeman¹. But the civil magistrates do not think themselves always obliged to conform to this last determination of the Sonna.

* “He who forgiveth the murderer of his brother, shall have the right of requiring a reasonable reparation, which shall be thankfully paid.”—*Savary*.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

fine shall be set on him^a with humanity. This is indulgence from your LORD, and mercy. And he who shall transgress after this, *by killing the murtherer*, shall suffer a grievous punishment. And in this law of retaliation ye have life, O ye of understanding, that peradventure ye may fear. It is ordained you, when any of you is at the point of death, if he leave any goods, *that he bequeath* a legacy to his parents, and kindred, according to what shall be reasonable^b. This is a duty *incumbent* on those who fear GOD. But he who shall change *the legacy*, after he hath heard it *bequeathed by the dying person*, surely the sin thereof shall be on those who change it, for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Howbeit he who apprehendeth from the testator any mistake or injustice, and shall compose *the matter* between them, that shall be no crime in him, for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, a fast is ordained you, as it was ordained unto those before you, that ye may fear GOD. A certain number of days *shall ye fast*: but he among you who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast an equal number of other days*. And those who can^c *keep it, and do not*, must redeem *their neglect* by maintaining

^a This is the common practice in Mohammedan countries, particularly in Persia¹; where the relations of the deceased may take their choice, either to have the murtherer put into their hands to be put to death; or else to accept of a pecuniary satisfaction.

^b That is, the legacy was not to exceed a third part of the testator's substance, nor to be given where there was no necessity. But this injunction is abrogated by the law concerning inheritances.

^c The expositors differ much about the meaning of this passage, thinking it very improbable that people should be left entirely at liberty either to fast or not, on compounding for it in this manner. Jallalo'ddin therefore supposes the negative particle *not* to be understood, and that this is allowed only to those who are *not able* to fast, by reason of age or dangerous sickness: but afterwards he says, that in the beginning of Mohammedism it was free for them to choose whether they would fast or maintain a poor man; which liberty was soon after taken away, and this passage abrogated by the following, *Therefore let him who shall be present in this month, fast the same month*. Yet this abrogation, he says, does not extend to women with child, or that give suck, lest the infant suffer.

Al Zamakhshari, having first given an explanation of Ebn Abbâs, who by a different interpretation of the Arabic word *Yotikûnah*, which signifies *can or are able to fast*, renders it, *Those who find great difficulty therein*, &c. adds an exposition of his own, by supposing something to be understood; according to which the sense will be, *Those who can fast and yet have a legal excuse to break it, must redeem it*, &c.

¹ V. Chardin, *Voyage de Perse*, t. ii. p. 299, &c.

of a poor man^a. And he who voluntarily dealeth better *with the poor man than he is obliged*, this shall be better for him. But if ye fast it will be better for you, if ye knew it. The month of Ramadan *shall ye fast*, in which the Koran was sent down *from heaven*^b, a direction unto men, and declarations of direction, and the distinction *between good and evil*. Therefore, let him among you who shall be present^c in this month, fast the same *month*; but he who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast the like* number of other days. GOD would *make this* an ease unto you, and would not *make it* a difficulty unto you; that ye may fulfil the number of *days*, and glorify GOD, for that he hath directed you, and that ye may give thanks. When my servants ask thee concerning me, Verily I am near; I will hear the prayer of him that prayeth, when he prayeth unto me: but let them hearken unto me, and believe in me, that they may be rightly directed. It is lawful for you, on the night of the fast, to go in unto your wives^d; they are a garment^e unto you, and ye are a garment unto them. GOD knoweth that ye defraud yourselves *therein*, wherefore he turneth unto you, and forgiveth you. Now, therefore, go in unto them; and earnestly desire that which GOD ordaineth you, and eat and drink, until ye can plainly distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the day-break: then keep the fast until night, and go not in unto them, but be constantly present in the places of worship. These are the prescribed bounds of GOD, therefore draw not near them *to transgress them*. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto men, that ye may fear *him*. Consume not your wealth among yourselves in vain;

^a According to the usual quantity which a man eats in a day, and the custom of the country¹.

^b See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV.

^c *i. e.* At home, and not in a strange country, where the fast cannot be performed, or on a journey.

^d In the beginning of Mohammedism, during the fast, they neither lay with their wives nor ate nor drank after supper. But both are permitted by this passage².

^e A metaphorical expression, to signify the mutual comfort a man and his wife find in each other.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Idem.

nor present it unto judges, that ye may devour part of men's substance unjustly, against your own consciences. They will ask thee concerning the phases of the moon : Answer, They are times appointed unto men, and to *show the season of the pilgrimage to Mecca*. It is not righteousness that ye enter *your* houses by the back parts thereof^a, but righteousness is of him who feareth GOD. Therefore enter *your* houses by their doors; and fear GOD, that ye may be happy. And fight for the religion of GOD against those who fight against you, but transgress not *by attacking them first*, for GOD loveth not the transgressors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you; for temptation *to idolatry* is more grievous than slaughter: yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, slay them *there*. This shall be the reward of infidels. But if they desist, GOD is gracious and merciful. Fight therefore against them, until there be no temptation *to idolatry*, and the religion be GOD's: but if they desist, then let there be no hostility, except against the ungodly. A sacred month for a sacred month^b, and the holy limits *of Mecca, if they attack you therein, do ye also attack them therein in retaliation*; and whoever transgresseth against you *by so doing*, do ye transgress against him in like manner as he hath transgressed against you, and fear GOD, and know that GOD is with those who fear *him*. Contribute *out of your substance* toward the defence of the religion of GOD, and throw not *yourselves* with your own hands into perdition^c; and do good, for GOD loveth those who do good. Perform the pilgrimage *of Mecca*, and the visitation of GOD: and if ye be besieged, *send* that offering which shall be

^a Some of the Arabs had a superstitious custom after they had been at Mecca (in pilgrimage, as it seems) on their return home, not to enter their house by the old door, but to make a hole through the back part for a passage, which practice is here reprehended.

^b As to these sacred months, wherein it was unlawful for the ancient Arabs to attack one another, see the Prelim. Disc. Sect. VII.

^c *i. e.* Be not accessory to your own destruction, by neglecting your contributions towards the wars against infidels, and thereby suffer them to gather strength.

the easiest; and shave not your heads^a, until your offering reacheth the place of sacrifice. But whoever among you is sick, or is troubled with any distemper of the head, must redeem *the shaving his head* by fasting, or alms, or some offering^b. When ye are secure *from enemies*, he who tarrieth^c in the visitation of *the temple of Mecca* until the pilgrimage, shall *bring* that offering which shall be the easiest. But he who findeth not *any thing to offer*, shall fast three days in the pilgrimage, and seven when ye are returned: they shall be ten days complete. This is *incumbent* on him, whose family shall not be present at the holy temple. And fear GOD, and know that GOD is severe in punishing. The pilgrimage *must be performed* in the known months^d; whosoever therefore purposeth to go on pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor transgress, nor quarrel in the pilgrimage. The good which ye do, GOD knoweth it. Make provision *for your journey*; but the best provision is piety: and fear me, O ye of understanding. It shall be no crime in you, if ye seek an increase from your LORD, *by trading during the pilgrimage*. And when ye go in procession^e from Arafat^f remember GOD near the holy monument^g; and remember him for that he hath di-

^a For this was a sign they had completed their vow, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage¹.

^b That is, either by fasting three days, or feeding six poor people, or sacrificing a sheep.

^c This passage is somewhat obscure. Yahya interprets it of him who marries a wife during the visitation, and performs the pilgrimage the year following. But Jallalo'ddin expounds it of him who stays within the sacred inclosures, in order to complete the ceremonies, which (as it should seem) he had not been able to do within the prescribed time.

^d i. e. Shawâl, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja. See the Preliminary Discourse, § IV.

^e The original word signifies *to rush forward impetuously*; as the pilgrims do when they proceed from Arafât to Mozdalifa.

^f A mountain near Mecca, so called, because Adam there met and *knew* his wife, after a long separation². Yet others say that Gabriel, after he had instructed Abraham in all the sacred ceremonies, coming to Arafât, there asked him if he *knew* the ceremonies which had been shown him; to which Abraham answering in the affirmative, the mountain had thence its name³.

^g In Arabic, *al Masher al harâm*. It is a mountain in the farther part of Mozdalifa, where it is said Mohammed stood praying and praising GOD, till his face became extremely shining⁴. Bobovius calls it Forkh⁵, but the true name seems to be Kazah; the variation being occasioned only by the different pointing of the Arabic letters.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² See before p. 7. not. c.

³ Al Hasan.

⁴ Jallalo'ddin.

⁵ Bobov. de peregr. Meccana, p. 15.

rected you, although ye were before this of *the number* of those who go astray. Therefore go in procession from whence the people go in procession, and ask pardon of GOD, for GOD is gracious and merciful. And when ye have finished your holy ceremonies, remember GOD, according as ye remember your fathers, or with a more reverent commemoration. There are some men who say, O LORD, give us *our portion* in this world; but such shall have no portion in the next life: and there are others who say, O LORD, give us good in this world, and also good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained: GOD is swift in taking an account^a. Remember GOD the *appointed* number of days^b: but if any haste to *depart from the valley of Mina* in two days, it shall be no crime in him. And if any tarry longer, it shall be no crime in him, in him who feareth GOD. Therefore fear GOD, and know that unto him ye shall be gathered. There is a man who causeth thee to marvel^c by his speech concerning this present life, and calleth GOD to witness that which is in his heart, yet he is most intent in opposing thee; and when he turneth away *from thee*, he hasteth to act corruptly in the earth, and to destroy that which is sown, and springeth up^d: but GOD loveth not corrupt doing. And if one say unto him, Fear GOD; pride seizeth him, together with wickedness; but hell shall be his reward, and an unhappy couch shall it be. There is also a man who selleth his soul for the sake of those things which are pleasing unto GOD^e; and GOD is gracious unto *his* servants. O *true* believers, enter into the true religion wholly, and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your

^a For he will judge all creatures, says Jallalo'ddin, in the space of half a day.

^b *i. e.* Three days after slaying the sacrifices.

^c This person was al Akhnas Ebn Shoraik, a fair-spoken dissembler, who swore that he believed in Mohammed, and pretended to be one of his friends, and to condemn this world. But GOD here reveals to the prophet his hypocrisy and wickedness¹.

^d Setting fire to his neighbour's corn, and killing his asses by night².

^e The person here meant was one Soheib, who being persecuted by the idolaters of Mecca, forsook all he had, and fled to Medina³.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

open enemy. If ye have slipped after the declarations *of our will* have come unto you, know that GOD is mighty and wise. Do *the infidels* expect less than that GOD should come down to them overshadowed with clouds, and the angels *also*? but the thing is decreed, and to GOD shall *all* things return. Ask the children of Israel how many evident signs we have showed them; and whoever shall change the grace of GOD, after it shall have come unto him, verily GOD will be severe in punishing *him*. The present life was ordained for those who believe not*, and they laugh the faithful to scorn; but they who fear GOD shall be above them, on the day of the resurrection: for GOD is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth without measure. Mankind was of one faith, and GOD sent prophets bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats, and sent down with them the scripture in truth, that it might judge between men of that concerning which they disagreed: and none disagreed concerning it, except those to whom the same *scriptures* were delivered, after the declarations *of GOD's will* had come unto them, out of envy among themselves. And GOD directed those who believed, to that truth concerning which they disagreed, by his will: for GOD directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. Did ye think ye should enter paradise, when as yet no such thing had happened unto you, as *hath happened* unto those who have been before you? They suffered calamity, and tribulation, and were afflicted; so that the apostle, and they who believed with him, said; When *will* the help of GOD *come*? Is not the help of GOD nigh? They will ask thee what they shall bestow *in alms*: Answer, The good which ye bestow, *let it be given* to parents, and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the stranger. Whatsoever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. War is enjoined you *against the Infidels*; but this is hateful unto you: yet perchance ye hate a thing

* "The life of this world is strewed with flowers for the unbelievers. They make a scoff of the faithful. Those who have the fear of the Lord shall be raised above them at the day of resurrection. God dispenseth as he pleaseth his innumerable gifts."—*Savary*.

which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worse for you: but GOD knoweth and ye know not. They will ask thee concerning the sacred month, *whether they may war therein*: Answer, To war therein is grievous; but to obstruct the way of GOD, and infidelity towards him, and *to keep men* from the holy temple, and to drive out his people from thence, is more grievous in the sight of GOD, and the temptation *to idolatry* is more grievous than to kill *in the sacred months*. They will not cease to war against you, until they turn you from your religion, if they be able: but whoever among you shall turn back from his religion, and die an infidel, their works shall be vain in this world, and the next; they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever. But they who believe, and who fly for the sake of religion, and fight in GOD's cause, they shall hope for the mercy of GOD; for GOD is gracious and merciful. They will ask thee concerning wine^a and lots^b: Answer, In both there is great sin, and *also some things of use unto men*^c; but their sinfulness is greater than their use. They will ask thee also what they shall bestow *in alms*: Answer, What ye have to spare. Thus GOD showeth *his* signs unto you, that peradventure ye might seriously think of this present world, and of the next. They will also ask thee concerning orphans: Answer, To deal righteously with them is best; and if ye intermeddle with *the management of what belongs to them*, do them no wrong; they are your brethren: GOD knoweth the corrupt dealer from

^a Under the name of *wine* all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended¹.

^b The original word, *al Meiser*, properly signifies a particular game performed with arrows, and much in use with the pagan Arabs. But by *lots* we are here to understand all games whatsoever, which are subject to chance or hazard, as dice, cards, &c.²

^c From these words some suppose that only drinking to excess, and too frequent gaming are prohibited³. And the moderate use of wine they also think is allowed by these words of the 16th chapter, *And of the fruits of palm-trees and grapes ye obtain inebriating drink, and also good nourishment*. But the more received opinion is, that both drinking wine or other strong liquors in any quantity, and playing at any game of chance, are absolutely forbidden⁴.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § V.

² See *ibid.*

³ V. Jallalo'ddin et al Zamakhshari.

⁴ See the Prelim. Disc. *ubi sup.*

the righteous ; and if GOD please, he will surely distress you^a, for GOD is mighty and wise. Marry not *women who are idolaters*, until they believe : verily a maid-servant who believeth, is better than an idolatress, although she please you *more*. And give not *women who believe* in marriage to the idolaters, until they believe : for verily a servant, who is a true believer, is better than an idolater, though he please you more. They invite unto *hell* fire, but GOD inviteth unto paradise and pardon through his will, and declareth his signs unto men, that they may remember. They will ask thee also concerning the courses of women : Answer, They are a pollution : therefore separate yourselves from women in their courses, and go not near them, until they be cleansed. But when they are cleansed, go in unto them as GOD hath commanded you^b, for GOD loveth those who repent, and loveth those who are clean. Your wives are your tillage ; go in therefore unto your tillage in what manner soever ye will^c : and do first some act *that may be profitable* unto your souls^d ; and fear GOD, and know that ye must meet him ; and bear good tidings unto the faithful. Make not GOD the object of your oaths^e, that ye will deal justly, and be devout, and make peace among men^f ; for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. GOD will not punish you for an inconsiderate word^g in your oaths ; but he

^a *viz.* By his curse, which will certainly bring to nothing what ye shall wrong the orphans of.

^b But not while they have their courses, nor by using preposterous venery¹.

^c That is in any posture ; either standing, sitting, lying, forwards, or backwards. And this passage, it is said, was revealed to answer the Jews, who pretended that if a man lay with his wife backwards, he would get a more witty child². It has been imagined that these words allow that preposterous lust, which the commentators say is forbidden by the preceding ; but I question whether this can be proved.

^d *i. e.* Perform some act of devotion or charity.

^e So as to swear frequently by him. The word translated *object*, properly signifies a butt to shoot at with arrows³.

^f Some commentators⁴ expound this negatively, *That ye will not deal justly, nor be devout, &c.* For such wicked oaths, they say, were customary among the idolatrous inhabitants of Mecca ; which gave occasion to the following saying of Mohammed ; *When you swear to do a thing, and afterwards find it better to do otherwise ; do that which is better, and make void your oath.*

^g When a man swears inadvertently, and without design.

¹ Ebn Abbas, Jallalo'ddin. ² Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, Al Zamakhshari. Vid. Lucret. de Ver. Nat. l. iv. v. 1258, &c.³ Jallalo'ddin. ⁴ Idem. Yahya.

will punish you for that which your hearts have assented unto: GOD is merciful and gracious. They who vow to *abstain* from their wives, are *allowed* to wait four months^a: but if they go back *from their vow*, verily GOD is gracious and merciful^b; and if they resolve on a divorce, GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. The *women who are divorced* shall wait concerning themselves until they have their courses thrice^c, and it shall not be lawful for them to conceal that which GOD hath created in their wombs^d, if they believe in GOD and the last day; and their husbands will act more justly to bring them back at this *time*, if they desire a reconciliation. The women ought also to *behave towards their husbands* in like manner as *their husbands should behave* towards them, according to what is just: but the men ought to have a superiority over them. GOD is mighty and wise. Ye may divorce *your wives* twice; and then either retain *them* with humanity, or dismiss *them* with kindness. But it is not lawful for you to take away any thing of what ye have given them, unless both fear that they cannot observe the ordinances of GOD^e. And if ye fear that they cannot observe the ordinances of GOD, it shall be no crime in either of them on account of that for which *the wife* shall redeem herself^f. These are the ordinances of

^a That is, they may take so much time to consider; and shall not, by a rash oath, be obliged actually to divorce them.

^b *i. e.* If they be reconciled to their wives within four months, or after, they may retain them; and GOD will dispense with their oath.

^c This is to be understood of those only with whom the marriage has been consummated; for as to the others there is no time limited. Those who are not quite past childbearing (which a woman is reckoned to be after her courses cease, and she is fifty-five lunar years, or about fifty-three solar years old) and those who are too young to have children, are allowed three months only; but they who are with child must wait till they be delivered¹.

^d That is, they shall tell the real truth, whether they have their courses, or be with child, or not; and shall not, by deceiving their husband, obtain a separation from him before the term be accomplished: lest the first husband's child should, by that means, go to the second; or the wife, in case of the first husband's death, should set up her child as his heir, or demand her maintenance during the time she went with such child, and the expenses of her lying-in, under pretence that she waited not her full prescribed time².

^e For if there be a settled aversion on either side, their continuing together may have very ill, and perhaps fatal consequences.

^f *i. e.* If she prevail on her husband to dismiss her, by releasing part of her dowry.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Yahya.

GOD; therefore transgress them not; for whoever transgresseth the ordinances of GOD, they are unjust doers. But if *the husband* divorce her *a third time*, she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband*. But if he *also* divorce her, it shall be no crime in them, if they return to each other, if they think they can observe the ordinances of GOD; and these are the ordinances of GOD, he declareth them to people of understanding. But when ye divorce women, and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, either retain them with humanity, or dismiss them with kindness; and retain them not by violence, so that ye transgress^a; for he who doth this, surely injureth his own soul. And make not the signs of GOD a jest: but remember GOD's favour towards you, and that he hath sent down unto you the book of *the Koran*, and wisdom, admonishing you thereby; and fear GOD, and know that GOD is omniscient. But when ye have divorced *your* wives, and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, hinder them not from marrying their husbands, when they have agreed among themselves according to what is honourable. This is given in admonition unto him among you who believeth in GOD, and the last day. This is most righteous for you, and most pure. GOD knoweth, but ye know not. Mothers *after they are divorced* shall give suck unto their children two full years, to him who desireth the time of giving suck to be completed; and the father shall be obliged to maintain them and clothe them *in the mean time*, according to that which shall be reasonable. No person shall be obliged beyond his ability. A mother shall not be compelled *to what*

* "The Mahometan who has thrice sworn to divorce his wife, religion punishes by not allowing him to take her again till she has shared the bed of another man. The faulty person, who is thus unpleasantly circumstanced, endeavours to elude the law. He chooses a friend, on whose discretion he can reckon; shuts her up with his wife in the presence of witnesses, and tremblingly awaits the result. The trial is a dangerous one. If, when he quits the room, the obliging friend declares that he divorces her, the first husband has a right to resume her; but if, having forgotten friendship in the arms of love, he should say that he acknowledges her as his wife, he takes her away with him, and the marriage is valid."—*Savary*.

^a *viz.* By obliging them to purchase their liberty with part of their dowry.

is unreasonable on account of her child, nor a father on account of his child. And the heir of *the father* shall be obliged to do in like manner. But if they choose to wean *the child* before the end of two years, by common consent, and on mutual consideration, it shall be no crime in them. And if ye have a mind to provide a nurse for your children, it shall be no crime in you, in case ye fully pay what ye offer *her*, according to that which is just. And fear GOD, and know that GOD seeth whatsoever ye do. Such of you as die, and leave wives, *their wives* must wait concerning themselves four months and ten *days*^a, and when they shall have fulfilled their term, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves^b, according to what is reasonable. GOD well knoweth that which ye do. And it shall be no crime in you, whether ye make public overtures of marriage unto *such* women, *within the said four months and ten days*, or whether ye conceal *such your designs* in your minds: GOD knoweth that ye will remember them*. But make no promise unto them privately, unless ye speak honourable words; and resolve not on the knot of marriage until the prescribed time be accomplished; and know that GOD knoweth that which is in your minds, therefore beware of him, and know that GOD is gracious and merciful. It shall be no crime in you, if ye divorce your wives, so long as ye have not touched them, nor settled any dowry on them. And provide for them (he who is at his ease must *provide* according to his circumstances, and he who is straitened according to his circumstances) necessities, according to what shall be reasonable. *This is a duty incumbent* on the righteous. But if ye divorce them before ye have touched them, and have already settled a dowry on

^a That is to say, before they marry again; and this not only for decency sake, but that it may be known whether they be with child by the deceased or not.

^b That is, if they leave off their mourning weeds, and look out for new husbands.

* "The desire of marrying a wife, whether you show it openly, or conceal it in your own breasts, shall not render you guilty in the sight of GOD. He knoweth that ye cannot prevent yourselves from thinking of women; but make to them no promise in secret, unless ye veil your love in decorous language."—*Savary*.

them, *ye shall give them half of what ye have settled, unless they release any part, or he release part in whose hand the knot of marriage is^a; and if ye release the whole, it will approach nearer unto piety. And forget not liberality among you, for GOD seeth that which ye do. Carefully observe the appointed prayers, and the middle prayer^b, and be assiduous therein, with devotion towards GOD. But if ye fear any danger, pray on foot or on horseback; and when ye are safe, remember GOD, how he hath taught you what as yet ye knew not. And such of you as shall die and leave wives, ought to bequeath their wives a year's maintenance, without putting them out of their houses: but if they go out voluntarily, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves, according to what shall be reasonable; GOD is mighty and wise. And unto those who are divorced, a reasonable provision is also due; this is a duty incumbent on those who fear GOD. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may understand. Hast thou not considered those, who left their habitations, (and they were thousands) for fear of death^c? And GOD said*

^a *i. e.* Unless the wife agree to take less than half her dowry, or unless the husband be so generous as to give her more than half, or the whole; which is here approved of as most commendable.

^b Yahya interprets this from a tradition of Mohammed, who being asked which was the middle prayer, answered, The evening prayer, which was instituted by the prophet Solomon. But Jallalo'ddin allows a greater latitude, and supposes it may be the afternoon prayer, the morning prayer, the noon prayer, or any other.

^c These were some of the children of Israel, who abandoned their dwellings because of a pestilence; or, as others say, to avoid serving in a religious war: but as they fled, GOD struck them all dead in a certain valley. About eight days or more after, when their bodies were corrupted, the prophet Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, happening to pass that way, at the sight of their bones, wept; whereupon GOD said to him, *Call to them, O Ezekiel, and I will restore them to life.* And accordingly on the prophet's call they all arose, and lived several years after; but they retained the colour and stench of dead corps, as long as they lived, and the clothes they wore changed as black as pitch; which qualities they transmitted to their posterity¹. As to the number of these Israelites, the commentators are not agreed; they who reckon least say they were 3000, and they who reckon most, 70,000. This story seems to have been taken from Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones².

Some of the Mohammedan writers will have Ezekiel to have been one of the judges of Israel, and to have succeeded Othoniel, the son of Caleb. They also call this prophet *Ebn al ajûz*, or the son of the old woman; because they say his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age³.

¹ Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, Abulfeda, &c.
Thalabi, Abu Ishak, &c.

² Ezck. xxxvii. 1—10.

³ Al

unto them, Die ; then he restored them to life, for GOD is gracious towards mankind ; but the greater part of men do not give thanks. Fight for the religion of GOD, and know that GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Who is he that will lend unto GOD on good usury^a? verily he will double it unto him manifold ; for GOD contracteth and extendeth *his hand* as he pleaseth ; and to him shall ye return. Hast thou not considered the assembly of the children of Israel, after *the time of* Moses ; when they said unto their prophet Samuel, Set a king over us, that we may fight for the religion of GOD. *The prophet answered**, If ye are enjoined to go to war, will ye be near refusing to fight? They answered, And what should ail us that we should not fight for the religion of GOD, seeing we are dispossessed of our habitations, and *deprived* of our children? But when they were enjoined to go to war, they turned back, except a few of them : and GOD knew the ungodly. And their prophet said unto them, Verily GOD hath set Talut^b, king over you : they answered, How shall he reign over us, seeing we are more worthy of the kingdom than he, neither is he possessed of great riches? Samuel said, Verily GOD hath chosen him before you, and hath caused him to increase in knowledge and stature[†], for GOD giveth his kingdom unto whom he pleaseth ; GOD is bounteous and wise. And their prophet said unto them, Verily the sign of his kingdom shall be, that the ark shall come unto you^c: therein shall be tran-

^a viz. By contributing towards the establishment of his true religion.

^{*} “ Will you be ready to go forth to fight (said the prophet to them) when the time shall be come? And who, replied they, could prevent us from marching under the banner of the faith ?”—*Savary*.

^b So the Mohammedans name Saul.

[†] “ The Lord, replied Samuel, hath chosen him to be your leader. He hath enlightened his mind, and strengthened his arm.”—*Savary*.

^c This ark, says Jellalo'ddin, contained the images of the prophets, and was sent down from heaven to Adam, and at length came to the Israelites, who put great confidence therein, and continually carried it in the front of their army, till it was taken by the Amalekites. But on this occasion the angels brought it back, in the sight of all the people, and placed it at the feet of Talût, who was thereupon unanimously acknowledged for their king.

This relation seems to have arisen from some imperfect tradition of the taking and sending back the ark by the Philistines¹.

¹ 1 Sam. iv, v, and vi.

quillity from your LORD^a, and the relics^b which have been left by the family of Moses, and the family of Aaron; the angels shall bring it. Verily this shall be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And when Talut departed with his soldiers, he said, Verily GOD will prove you by the river: for he who drinketh thereof shall not be on my side (but he who shall not taste thereof he shall be on my side), except he who drinketh a draught out of his hand. And they drank thereof, except a few of them^c. And when they had passed *the river*, he and those who believed with him, they said, We have no strength to-day, against Jalut^d and his forces. But they who considered that they should meet GOD *at the resurrection*, said, How often hath a small army discomfited a great army, by the will of GOD! and GOD is with those who patiently persevere. And when they went forth to battle against Jalut and his forces, they said, O LORD, pour on us patience, and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. Therefore they discomfited them, by the will of GOD, and David slew Jalut. And GOD gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught him his will^e; and if GOD had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted: but GOD is beneficent towards *his* creatures. These are the signs of GOD: we rehearse them unto thee with truth,

^a That is, because of the great confidence the Israelites placed in it, having won several battles by its miraculous assistance. I imagine, however, that the Arabic word *Sakīnat*, which signifies *tranquillity* or *security of mind*, and is so understood by the commentators, may not improbably mean the *divine presence* or *glory*, which used to appear on the ark, and which the Jews express by the same word *Shechinah*.

^b These were the shoes and rod of Moses, the mitre of Aaron, a pot of manna, and the broken pieces of the two tables of the law¹.

^c The number of those who drank out of their hands was about 313². It seems that Mohammed has here confounded Saul with Gideon, who by the divine direction took with him against the Midianites such of his army only as lapped water out of their hands, which were 300 men³.

^d Or Goliath.

^e Or *what he pleased* to teach him. Yahya most rationally understands hereby the divine revelations which David received from God; but Jallalo'ddin the art of making coats of mail (which the Mohammedans believe was that prophet's peculiar trade) and the knowledge of the language of birds.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Idem, Yahya.

³ Judges vii.

and thou art surely *one* of those who have been sent *by* GOD. * These are the apostles; we III. have preferred some of them before others: some of them hath GOD spoken unto, and hath exalted the degree of others of them. And we gave unto Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs, and strengthened him with the holy spirit^a. And if GOD had pleased, they who came after those *apostles* would not have contended among themselves, after manifest signs had been shown unto them. But they fell to variance; therefore some of them believed, and some of them believed not; and if GOD had so pleased, they would not have contended among themselves, but GOD doth what he will. O true believers, give *alms* of that which we have bestowed on you, before the day cometh wherein there shall be no merchandising, nor friendship, nor intercession. The infidels are unjust doers. GOD! there is no GOD but he^b; the living, the self-subsisting: neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him; to him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good pleasure? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend any thing of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth^c, and the preservation of both is no burthen unto him. He is the high, the mighty. Let there be no violence in religion^d. Now is right direction

^a See before p. 16, Note a.

^b The following seven lines contain a magnificent description of the divine majesty and providence; but it must not be supposed the translation comes up to the dignity of the original. This passage is justly admired by the Mohammedans, who recite it in their prayers; and some of them wear it about them, engraved on an agate or other precious stone¹.

^c This throne, in Arabic called *Corsi*, is by the Mohammedans supposed to be God's tribunal, or seat of justice; being placed under that other called *al Arsh*, which they say is his imperial throne. The *Corsi* allegorically signifies the divine providence, which sustains and governs the heaven and the earth, and is infinitely above human comprehension².

^d This passage was particularly directed to some of Mohammed's first proselytes, who having sons that had been brought up in idolatry or Judaism, would oblige them to embrace Mohammedism by force³.

¹ V. Bobov. de Prec. Moham. p. 5, et Reland. Dissert. de Gemmis Arab. pp. 235, 239.

² Vid. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. *Corsi*.

³ Jallalo'ddin.

manifestly distinguished from deceit: whoever therefore shall deny Tagut^a, and believe in GOD, he shall surely take hold on a strong handle, which shall not be broken; GOD is he who heareth and seeth. GOD is the patron of those who believe; he shall lead them out of darkness into light: but *as to* those who believe not, their patrons are Tagut; they shall lead them from the light into darkness; they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever. Hast thou not considered him who disputed with Abraham concerning his LORD^b, because GOD had given him the kingdom? When Abraham said, My LORD is he who giveth life, and killeth: he answered, I give life, and I kill. Abraham said, Verily GOD bringeth the sun from the east, now do thou bring it from the west. Whereupon the infidel was confounded; for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Or *hast thou not considered* how he *behaved* who passed by a city which had been destroyed, even to her foundations^c? He said, How shall GOD quicken this *city*, after she hath been dead? And GOD caused him to die for an hundred years, and afterwards raised him to life. And GOD said, How long hast thou tarried *here*? He answered, A day, or part of a day. GOD said, Nay, thou hast tarried *here* an hundred years. Now look

^a This word properly signifies *an idol*, or whatever is worshipped besides God; particularly the two idols of the Meccans, Allât, and al Uzza; and also the devil, or any seducer.

^b This was Nimrod; who, as the commentators say, to prove his power of life and death by ocular demonstration, caused two men to be brought before him at the same time, one of whom he slew, and saved the other alive. As to this tyrant's persecution of Abraham, see chap. 21, and the notes thereon.

^c The person here meant was Ozair or Ezra, who riding on an ass by the ruins of Jerusalem, after it had been destroyed by the Chaldeans, doubted in his mind by what means God could raise the city and its inhabitants again; whereupon God caused him to die, and he remained in that condition 100 years; at the end of which God restored him to life, and he found a basket of figs and a cruse of wine he had with him, not in the least spoiled or corrupted, but his ass was dead, the bones only remaining; and these, while the prophet looked on, were raised and clothed with flesh, becoming an ass again, which being inspired with life, began immediately to bray¹.

This apocryphal story may perhaps have taken its rise from Nehemiah's viewing of the ruins of Jerusalem².

¹ Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, &c. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Ozair. ² Nehem. ii. 12, &c.

on thy food and thy drink, they are not yet corrupted; and look on thine ass: and this *have we done* that we might make thee a sign unto men. And look on the bones of *thine ass*, how we raise them, and afterwards clothe them with flesh. And when *this* was shown unto him, he said, I know that GOD is able to do all things. And when Abraham said, O LORD, show me how thou wilt raise the dead^a; GOD said, Dost thou not yet believe? He answered, Yea; but *I ask this* that my heart may rest at ease. GOD said, take therefore four birds, and divide them^b; then lay a part of them on every mountain; then call them, and they shall come swiftly unto thee: and know that GOD is mighty and wise. The similitude of those who lay out their substance for advancing the religion of GOD, is as a grain of *corn* which produceth seven ears, and in every ear an hundred grains; for GOD giveth twofold unto whom he pleaseth: GOD is bounteous and wise. They who lay out their substance for the religion of GOD, and afterwards follow not what they have so laid out by reproaches or mischief^c, they shall have their reward with their LORD; upon them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. A fair speech, and to forgive^{*}, is better than alms followed by mischief. GOD is rich and merciful. O true believers, make not your alms of none effect by reproach-

^a The occasion of this request of Abraham is said to have been on a doubt proposed to him by the devil, in human form, how it was possible for the several parts of the corpse of a man which lay on the sea shore, and had been partly devoured by the wild beasts, the birds, and the fish, to be brought together at the resurrection¹.

^b These birds, according to the commentators, were an eagle (a dove, say others) a peacock, a raven, and a cock; which Abraham cut to pieces, and mingled their flesh and feathers together, or, as some tell us, pounded all in a mortar, and dividing the mass into four parts, laid them on so many mountains, but kept the heads, which he had preserved whole, in his hand. Then he called them each by their name, and immediately one part flew to the other, till they all recovered their first shape, and then came to be joined to their respective heads².

This seems to be taken from Abraham's sacrifice of birds mentioned by Moses³, with some additional circumstances.

^c i. e. Either by reproaching the person whom they have relieved, with what they have done for them; or by exposing his poverty to his prejudice⁴.

^{*} "Humanity in words and actions is better than alms after injustice."—*Savary*.

¹ See D'Herbelot, p. 13. ² Jallalo'ddin. See D'Herbelot, ubi supra. ³ Gen. xv.
⁴ Jallalo'ddin.

ing, or mischief, as he who layeth out what he hath to appear unto men *to give alms*, and believeth not in GOD and the last day. The likeness of such a one is as a flint covered with earth, on which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard. They cannot prosper in any thing which they have gained, for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. And the likeness of those who lay out their substance from a desire to please GOD, and for an establishment for their souls, is as a garden on a hill, on which a violent rain falleth, and it bringeth forth its fruits twofold; and if a violent rain falleth not on it, yet the dew *falleth thereon*: and GOD seeth that which ye do. Doth any of you desire to have a garden of palm trees and vines^a, through which rivers flow, wherein he may have all *kinds of* fruits, and that he may attain to old age, and have a weak offspring? then a violent fiery wind shall strike it, so that it shall be burned*. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may consider. O true believers, bestow *alms* of the good things which ye have gained, and of that which we have produced for you out of the earth, and choose not the bad thereof, to give it *in alms*, such as ye would not accept yourselves, otherwise than by connivance^b: and know that GOD is rich and worthy to be praised. The devil threateneth you with poverty, and commandeth you filthy covetousness; but GOD promiseth you pardon from himself and abundance: GOD is bounteous and wise. He giveth wisdom unto whom he pleaseth; and he unto whom wisdom is given hath received much good: but none will consider, except the *wise* of heart. And whatever alms ye shall give, or *whatever* vow ye shall

^a This garden is an emblem of alms given out of hypocrisy, or attended with reproaches, which perish, and will be of no service hereafter to the giver¹.

* “Who among you would desire to possess a garden planted with palm-trees, adorned with vines, intersected by rivulets, and enriched with all the fruits of the earth; and to be then seized by old age, to leave infants in the cradle, and to see this garden devastated by a whirlwind of flame? Thus doth God reveal his mysteries unto you, that you may turn your thoughts unto him.”—*Savary*.

^b That is, on having some amends made by the seller of such goods, either by abatement of the price, or giving something else to the buyer to make up the value.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

vow, verily GOD knoweth it; but the ungodly shall have none to help *them*. If ye make your alms to appear, it is well; but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this *will be* better for you, and will atone for your sins: and GOD is well informed of that which ye do. The direction of them belongeth not unto thee; but GOD directeth whom he pleaseth. The good that ye shall give *in alms shall redound* unto yourselves; and ye shall not give unless out of desire of *seeing* the face of GOD^a. And what good thing ye shall give *in alms*, it shall be repaid you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly; unto the poor who are wholly employed in fighting for the religion of GOD, and cannot go to and fro on the earth; whom the ignorant man thinketh rich, because of their modesty: thou shalt know them by this mark, they ask not men with importunity; and what good ye shall give *in alms*, verily GOD knoweth it. They who distribute *alms of* their substance night and day, in private and in public, shall have their reward with their LORD; on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. They who devour usury shall not arise *from the dead*, but as he ariseth whom Satan hath infected by a touch^b: this *shall happen to them* because they say, Truly selling is but as usury: and yet GOD hath permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who when there cometh unto him an admonition from his LORD abstaineth *from usury for the future*, shall have what is past *forgiven him*, and his affair belongeth unto GOD. But whoever returneth *to usury*, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall continue therein for ever. GOD shall take his blessing from usury, and shall increase alms: for GOD loveth no infidel, or ungodly person. But they who believe and do that which is right, and observe the stated times of prayer,

^a *i. e.* For the sake of a reward hereafter, and not for any worldly consideration¹.

^b *viz.* Like *dæmoniacs* or possessed persons, that is, in great horror and distraction of mind and convulsive agitation of body.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

and pay their legal alms, they shall have their reward with their LORD: there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. O true believers, fear GOD, and remit that which remaineth of usury^a, if ye *really* believe; but if ye do it not, hearken unto war, *which is declared against you* from GOD and his apostle: yet if ye repent, ye shall have the capital of your money. Deal not unjustly *with others*, and ye shall not be dealt with unjustly. If there be any *debtor* under a difficulty *of paying his debt*, let *his creditor* wait till it be easy *for him to do it*; but if ye remit it as alms, it will be better for you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ye shall return unto GOD; then shall every soul be paid what it hath gained, and they shall not be treated unjustly. O true believers, when ye bind yourselves one to the other in a debt for a certain time, write it down; and let a writer write between you according to justice, and let not the writer refuse writing according to what GOD hath taught him; but let him write, and let him who oweth the debt dictate, and let him fear GOD his LORD, and not diminish aught thereof. But if he who oweth the debt be foolish, or weak, or be not able to dictate himself, let his agent^b dictate according to equity; and call to witness two witnesses of your *neighbouring* men; but if there be not two men, *let there be* a man and two women of those whom ye shall choose for witnesses: if one of those *women* should mistake, the other of them will cause her to recollect. And the witnesses shall not refuse, whensoever they shall be called. And disdain not to write it down, be it a large *debt*, or be it a small one, until its time *of payment*: this will be more just in the sight of GOD, and more right for bearing witness, and more easy, that ye may not doubt. But if it be a present bargain which ye

^a Or the interest due before usury was prohibited. For this some of Mohammed's followers exacted of their debtors, supposing they lawfully might¹.

^b Whoever manages his affairs, whether his father, heir, guardian, or interpreter².

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Idem.

transact between yourselves, it shall be no crime in you, if ye write it not down. And take witnesses when ye sell one to the other, and let no harm be done to the writer, nor to the witness; *which* if ye do, it will surely be injustice in you: and fear GOD, and GOD will instruct you, for GOD knoweth all things. And if ye be on a journey, and find no writer, *let pledges be taken*: but if one of you trust the other, let him who is trusted return what he is trusted with, and fear GOD his LORD. And conceal not the testimony, for he who concealeth it hath surely a wicked heart: GOD knoweth that which ye do. Whatever is in heaven and on earth is GOD'S: and whether ye manifest that which is in your minds, or conceal it, GOD will call you to account for it, and will forgive whom he pleaseth, and will punish whom he pleaseth; for GOD is almighty. The apostle believeth in that which hath been sent down unto him from his LORD, and the faithful *also*. Every one, *of them* believeth in GOD, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles: we make no distinction at all between his apostles^a. And they say, We have heard, and do obey: *we implore* thy mercy, O LORD, for unto thee must we return. GOD will not force any soul beyond its capacity: it shall have *the good* which it gaineth, and it shall suffer *the evil* which it gaineth. O LORD, punish us not, if we forget, or act sinfully: O LORD, lay not on us a burthen like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us^b; neither make us, O LORD, to bear what we have not strength to *bear*, but be favourable unto us, and spare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore against the unbelieving nations.

^a But this, say the Mohammedans, the Jews do, who receive Moses, but reject Jesus; and the Christians, who receive both those prophets, but reject Mohammed¹.

^b That is, on the Jews, who, as the commentators tell us, were ordered to kill a man by way of atonement, to give one fourth of their substance in alms, and to cut off an unclean ulcerous part², and were forbidden to eat fat, or animals that divided the hoof, and were obliged to observe the sabbath, and other particulars wherein the Mohammedans are at liberty³.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Idem.

³ Yahya.

CHAPTER III.

Intituled, the Family of Imran^a; revealed at Medina.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

AL. M^b. There is no GOD but GOD, the living, the self-subsisting: he hath sent down unto thee the book *of the Korân* with truth, confirming that which was *revealed* before it; for he had formerly sent down the law, and the gospel, a direction unto men; and he had also sent down the distinction *between good and evil*. Verily those who believe not the signs of GOD shall suffer a grievous punishment; for GOD is mighty, able to revenge. Surely nothing is hidden from GOD, *of that which is* on earth, or in heaven: it is he who formeth you in the wombs, as he pleaseth; there is no GOD but he, the mighty, the wise. It is he who hath sent down unto thee the book, wherein are some verses clear to be understood, they are the foundation of the book; and others are parabolical^c. But they whose hearts are perverse will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of love of schism, and a desire of the interpretation thereof; yet none knoweth the interpreta-

^a This name is given in the Korân to the father of the Virgin Mary. See below, p. 56.

^b For the meaning of these letters, the reader is referred to the Preliminary Discourse, Sect. III.

^c This passage is translated according to the exposition of al Zamakhshari and al Beidâwî, which seems to be the truest.

The contents of the Korân are here distinguished into such passages as are to be taken in the literal sense, and such as require a figurative acceptation. The former being plain and obvious to be understood, compose the fundamental part, or, as the original expresses it, *the mother* of the book, and contain the principal doctrines and precepts; agreeably to, and consistently with which, those passages which are wrapt up in metaphors, and delivered in an enigmatical, allegorical style, are always to be interpreted¹.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § III.

tion thereof, except GOD. But they who are well grounded in knowledge say, We believe therein, the whole is from our LORD; and none will consider except the prudent*. O LORD, cause not our hearts to swerve *from truth*, after thou hast directed us: and give us from thee mercy, for thou art he who giveth. O LORD, thou shalt surely gather mankind together, unto a day *of resurrection*: there is no doubt of it, for GOD will not be contrary to the promise. As for the infidels, their wealth shall not profit them any thing, nor their children, against GOD: they shall be the fuel of *hell* fire. According to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those who went before them, they charged our signs with a lie; but GOD caught them in their wickedness, and GOD is severe in punishing. Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell; an unhappy couch *shall it be*. Ye have already had a miracle *shown you* in two armies, which attacked each other^a: one army fought for GOD's true religion, but the other were infidels; they saw *the faithful* twice as many as them-

* "This language is that of the wise."—*Savary*.

^a The sign or miracle here meant was the victory gained by Mohammed in the second year of the Hejra, over the idolatrous Meccans, headed by Abu Sofîân, in the valley of Bedr, which is situate near the sea between Mecca and Medina. Mohammed's forces consisted of no more than three hundred and nineteen men, but the enemies' army of near a thousand; notwithstanding which odds, he put them to flight, having killed seventy of the principal Koreish, and taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only fourteen of his own men¹. This was the first victory obtained by the prophet, and though it may seem no very considerable action, yet it was of great advantage to him, and the foundation of all his future power and success. For which reason it is famous in the Arabian history, and more than once vaunted in the Korân², as an effect of the divine assistance. The miracle, it is said, consisted in three things; 1. Mohammed, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, took a handful of gravel and threw it towards the enemy in the attack, saying, *May their faces be confounded*; whereupon they immediately turned their backs and fled. But, though the prophet seemingly threw the gravel himself, yet he is told in the Korân³, that it was not he, but God, who threw it; that is to say, by the ministry of his angel. 2. The Mohammedan troops seemed to the infidels to be twice as many in number as themselves, which greatly discouraged them. And, 3. God sent down to their assistance first a thousand, and afterwards three thousand angels, led by Gabriel, mounted on his horse Haizûm; and according to the Korân⁴, these celestial auxiliaries really did all the execution, though Mohammed's men imagined themselves did it, and fought stoutly at the same time.

¹ See Elmacin. p. 5. Hottinger. Hist. Orient. l. 2. c. 4. Abulfed. Vit. Moham. p. 56, &c. Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 71, &c. ² See this chap. below, and chapters 8 and 32. ³ Chap. 8, not far from the beginning. ⁴ Ibid.

selves in *their* eye-sight; for GOD strengtheneth with his help whom he pleaseth. Surely herein was an example unto men of understanding. The love and eager desire of wives, and children, and sums heaped up of gold and silver, and excellent horses, and cattle, and land, is prepared for men: this is the provision of the present life *; but unto GOD shall be the most excellent return. Say, Shall I declare unto you better *things* than this? For those who are devout *are prepared* with their LORD, gardens through which rivers flow; therein shall they continue for ever: and *they shall enjoy* wives free from impurity, and the favour of GOD; for GOD regardeth *his* servants; who say, O LORD, we do sincerely believe; forgive us therefore our sins, and deliver us from the pain of *hell* fire: the patient, and the lovers of truth, and the devout, and the almsgivers, and those who ask pardon *early* in the morning. GOD hath borne witness that there is no GOD but he; and the angels, and *those who are* endowed with wisdom, *profess the same*; who executeth righteousness; there is no GOD but he; the mighty, the wise. Verily the *true* religion in the sight of GOD is Islam ^a; and they who had received the scriptures dissented not *therefrom*, until after the knowledge of *God's unity* had come unto them, out of envy among themselves; but whosoever believeth not in the signs of GOD, verily GOD will be swift in *bringing him* to account. If they dispute with thee, say, I have resigned myself unto GOD, and he who followeth me *doth the same*: and say unto them who have received the scriptures, and to the ignorant ^b, Do ye profess *the religion of* Islam? now if they

* "Such are the enjoyments of this earthly life; but the asylum which is prepared by God is far more delectable."—*Savary*.

^a The proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which signifies the *resigning* or *devoting one's self* entirely to God, and his service. This they say is the religion which all the prophets were sent to teach, being founded on the unity of God ¹.

^b i. e. The pagan Arabs, who had no knowledge of the scriptures ².

¹ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

embrace Islam, they are surely directed; but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee *belongeth* preaching *only*; for GOD regardeth his servants. And unto those who believe not in the signs of GOD, and slay the prophets without a cause, and put those men to death who teach justice; denounce unto them a painful punishment. These are they whose works perish in this world, and in that which is to come; and they shall have none to help them. Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the scripture was given^a? They were called unto the book of GOD, that it might judge between them^b; then some of them turned their backs, and retired afar off. This *they did* because they said, The fire of *hell* shall by no means touch us, but for a *certain* number of days^c: and that which they had falsely devised hath deceived them in their religion. How then *will it be with them*, when we

^a That is, the *Jews*.

^b This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute Mohammed had with some Jews, which is differently related by the commentators.

Al Beidâwi says, that Mohammed going one day into a Jewish synagogue, Naïm Ebn Amru and al Hareth Ebn Zeid asked him what religion he was of? To which he answering, Of the religion of Abraham; they replied, Abraham was a Jew; but on Mohammed's proposing that the Pentateuch might decide the question, they would by no means agree to it.

But Jallalo'ddin tells us, That two persons of the Jewish religion having committed adultery, their punishment was referred to Mohammed, who gave sentence that they should be stoned, according to the law of Moses. This the Jews refused to submit to, alleging there was no such command in the Pentateuch: but on Mohammed's appealing to the book, the said law was found therein. Whereupon the criminals were stoned, to the great mortification of the Jews.

It is very remarkable that this law of Moses concerning the stoning of adulterers is mentioned in the New Testament¹ (though I know some dispute the authenticity of that whole passage), but is not now to be found, either in the Hebrew or Samaritan Pentateuch, or in the Septuagint; it being only said that such *shall be put to death*². This omission is insisted on by the Mohammedans as one instance of the corruption of the law of Moses by the Jews.

It is also observable that there was a verse once extant in the Korân, commanding adulterers to be stoned; and the commentators say the words only are abrogated, the sense or law still remaining in force³.

^c *i. e.* Forty; the time their forefathers worshipped the calf⁴. Al Beidâwi adds, that some of them pretended their punishment was to last but seven days, that is a day for every thousand years which they supposed the world was to endure; and that they imagined they were to be so mildly dealt with, either by reason of the intercession of their fathers the prophets, or because GOD had promised Jacob, that his offspring should be punished but slightly.

¹ John viii. 5. ² Lev. xx. 10. See Whiston's Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Test. p. 99, 100. ³ See the Prelim. Disc. § 3. ⁴ See before p. 15.

shall gather them together at the day of judgment^a, of which there is no doubt; and every soul shall be paid that which it hath gained, neither shall they be treated unjustly? Say, O GOD, who possessest the kingdom; thou givest the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takest away the kingdom from whom thou wilt: thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou humblest whom thou wilt: in thy hand is good, for thou art almighty. Thou makest the night to succeed the day: thou bringest forth the living out of the dead, and thou bringest forth the dead out of the living^b; and providest food for whom thou wilt without measure. Let not the faithful take the infidels for their protectors, rather than the faithful: he who doth this shall not be *protected* of GOD at all; unless ye fear any danger from them: but GOD warneth you to beware of himself; for unto GOD must ye return. Say, Whether ye conceal that which is in your breasts, or whether ye declare it, GOD knoweth it; for he knoweth whatever is in heaven, and whatever is on earth: GOD is almighty. On the *last* day every soul shall find the good which it hath wrought, present; and the evil which it hath wrought, it shall wish that between itself and that were a wide distance: but GOD warneth you to beware of himself*; for GOD is gracious unto his servants. Say, If ye love GOD, follow me: then GOD shall love you, and forgive you your sins; for GOD is gracious, and merciful. Say, Obey GOD, and *his* apostle: but if ye go back, verily GOD loveth not the unbelievers. GOD hath surely chosen Adam, and Noah, and the family of Abraham, and the family of Imran^c above the *rest of the world*; a race *descending* the one from the other: GOD is he who heareth and

^a The Mohammedans have a tradition, that the first banner of the infidels that shall be set up, on the day of judgment, will be that of the Jews; and that GOD will first reproach them with their wickedness, over the heads of those who are present, and then order them to hell¹.

^b As a man from seed, and a bird from an egg; and *vice versâ*².

* "The Lord exhorteth you to dread his anger. He looketh on his servants with a propitious eye."—*Savary*.

^c Or Amrân, is the name of two several persons, according to the Mohammedan

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Jallalo'ddin.

knoweth. *Remember* when the wife of Imran^a said, LORD, verily I have vowed unto thee that which is in my womb, to be dedicated *to thy service*^b: accept it therefore of me; for thou art he who heareth and knoweth. And when she was delivered of it, she said, LORD, verily I have brought forth a female (and God well knew what she had brought forth), and a male is not as a female^c *. I have called her MARY; and I

tradition. One was the father of Moses and Aaron; and the other was the father of the Virgin Mary¹; but he is called by some Christian writers Joachim. The commentators suppose the first, or rather both of them, to be meant in this place; however the person intended in the next passage, it is agreed, was the latter; who besides Mary the mother of Jesus, had also a son named Aaron², and a sister named Ishá (or Elizabeth), who married Zacharias, and was the mother of John the Baptist; whence that prophet and Jesus are usually called by the Mohammedans *The two sons of the aunt*, or the cousins german.

From the identity of names it has been generally imagined by Christian writers³ that the Korân here confounds Mary the mother of Jesus with Mary or Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron; which intolerable anachronism, if it were certain, is sufficient of itself to destroy the pretended authority of this book. But though Mohammed may be supposed to have been ignorant enough in ancient history and chronology, to have committed so gross a blunder; yet I do not see how it can be made out from the words of the Korân. For it does not follow, because two persons have the same name, and have each a father and brother who bear the same names, that they must therefore necessarily be the same person: besides such a mistake is inconsistent with a number of other places in the Korân, whereby it manifestly appears that Mohammed well knew and asserted that Moses preceded Jesus several ages. And the commentators accordingly fail not to tell us, that there had passed about one thousand eight hundred years between Amrân the father of Moses, and Amrân the father of the Virgin Mary: they also make them the sons of different persons; the first, they say, was the son of Yeshar, or Izhar (though he was really his brother)⁴ the son of Kâhath, the son of Levi; and the other was the son of Mathân⁵, whose genealogy they trace, but in a very corrupt and imperfect manner, up to David, and thence to Adam⁶.

It must be observed, that though the Virgin Mary is called in the Korân⁷, the sister of Aaron, yet she is nowhere called the sister of Moses; however some Mohammedan writers have imagined that the same individual Mary, the sister of Moses, was miraculously preserved alive from his time till that of Jesus Christ, purposely to become the mother of the latter⁸.

* The Imrân here mentioned was the father of the Virgin Mary, and his wife's name was Hannah or Ann, the daughter of Fakudh. This woman, say the commentators, being aged, and barren, on seeing a bird feed her young ones, became very desirous of issue, and begged a child of God, promising to consecrate it to his service in the temple; whereupon she had a child, but it proved a daughter⁹.

^b The Arabic word is *free*; but here signifies particularly one that is *free* or detached from all worldly desires and occupations, and wholly devoted to God's service¹⁰.

^c Because a female could not minister in the temple as a male could¹¹.

* "God knew to what she had given birth. Obvious characters distinguish the two sexes."—*Savary*.

¹ Al Zamakhshari, al Beidâwi.

² Korân, c. 19.

³ V. Reland, de Rel.

Moh. p. 211. Marracc. in Alc. p. 115, &c. Prideaux, Letter to the Deists, p. 185.

⁴ Exod. vi. 18. ⁵ Al Zamakh. al Beidâwi.

⁶ V. Reland, ubi sup. D'Her-

belot, Bibl. Orient. p. 583.

⁷ Chap. 19.

⁸ V. Guadagnol, Apolog. pro Rel. Christ. contra Ahmed Ebn Zein al Abedin, p. 279.

⁹ Al Beidâwi, al Thalabi,

¹⁰ Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari.

¹¹ Jallalo'ddin.

commend her to thy protection, and *also* her issue, against Satan driven away with stones^a. Therefore the LORD accepted her with a gracious acceptance^b, and caused her to bear an excellent offspring. And Zacharias took care of *the child*; whenever Zacharias went into the chamber to her, he found provisions with her^c: *and* he said, O Mary, whence hadst thou this? she answered, This is from GOD: for GOD provideth for whom he pleaseth without measure^d. There Zacharias called on his LORD, *and* said, LORD, give me from thee a good offspring, for thou art the hearer of prayer. And the angels^e called to him, while he stood praying in the chamber, *saying*, Verily GOD promiseth thee *a son named John*, who shall bear witness to the Word^f *which cometh* from GOD; an honourable person,

^a This expression alludes to a tradition, that Abraham, when the devil tempted him to disobey God in not sacrificing his son, drove the fiend away by throwing stones at him; in memory of which the Mohammedans, at the pilgrimage of Mecca, throw a certain number of stones at the devil, with certain ceremonies, in the valley of Mina¹.

It is not improbable that the pretended immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary is intimated in this passage. For according to a tradition of Mohammed, every person that comes into the world is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out, Mary and her son only excepted; between whom and the evil spirit God placed a veil, so that his touch did not reach them². And for this reason, they say, neither of them were guilty of any sin, like the rest of the children of Adam³; which peculiar grace they obtained by virtue of this recommendation of them by Hannah to God's protection.

^b Though the child happened not to be a male, yet her mother presented her to the priests who had the care of the temple, as one dedicated to God; and they having received her, she was committed to the care of Zacharias, as will be observed by and by, and he built her an apartment in the temple, and supplied her with necessaries⁴.

^c The commentators say that none went into Mary's apartment but Zacharias himself, and that he locked seven doors upon her; yet he found she had always winter fruits in summer, and summer fruits in winter⁵.

^d There is a story of Fâtema, Mohammed's daughter, that she once brought two loaves and a piece of flesh to her father, who returned them to her, and having called for her again, when she uncovered the dish, it was full of bread and meat; and on Mohammed's asking her whence she had it? she answered in the words of this passage, *This is from God; for God provideth for whom he pleaseth, without measure*. Whereupon he blessed God, who thus favoured her, as he had the most excellent of the daughters of Israel⁶.

^e Though the word be in the plural, yet the commentators say it was the angel Gabriel only. The same is to be understood where it occurs in the following passages.

^f That is Jesus; who, al Beidâwi says, is so called, because he was conceived by the word or command of God, without a father.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § 4.

² Jallalo'ddin. Al Beidâwi.

³ Kitada,

⁴ Jallalo'ddin. Al Beidâwi. V. Lud. de Dieu, in not. ad Hist. Christi Xaverii, p. 542.

⁵ Al Beidâwi. V. de Dieu, ub. supr. p. 548.

⁶ Al Beidâwi.

chaste^a, and one of the righteous prophets. He answered, LORD, how shall I have a son, when old age hath overtaken me^b, and my wife is barren? *The angel* said, So GOD doth that which he pleaseth. Zacharias answered, LORD, give me a sign. *The angel* said, Thy sign shall be, that thou shalt speak unto no man^c for three days, otherwise than by gesture: remember thy LORD often, and praise *him* evening and morning. And when the angels said, O Mary, verily GOD hath chosen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath chosen thee above *all* the women of the world: O Mary, be devout towards thy LORD, and worship, and bow down with those who bow down. This is a secret history: we reveal it unto thee, although thou wast not present with them when they threw in their rods *to cast lots* which of them should have the education of Mary^d; neither wast thou with them, when they strove among themselves. When the angels said; O Mary, verily GOD sendeth thee good tidings, *that thou shalt hear the Word, proceeding* from himself; his name shall be CHRIST JESUS the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and *one* of those who approach near *to the presence of* GOD; and he shall speak unto men in the cradle^e, and

^a The original word signifies one who refrains not only from women, but from all other worldly delights and desires. Al Beidâwi mentions a tradition, that during his childhood some boys invited him to play, but he refused, saying that he was not created to play.

^b Zacharias was then ninety-nine years old, and his wife eighty-nine¹.

^c Though he could not speak to any body else, yet his tongue was at liberty to praise God; as he is directed to do by the following words.

^d When Mary was first brought to the temple, the priests, because she was the daughter of one of their chiefs, disputed among themselves, who should have the education of her. Zacharias insisted that he ought to be preferred, because he had married her aunt; but the others not consenting that it should be so, they agreed to decide the matter by casting of lots: whereupon twenty-seven of them went to the river Jordan, and threw in their rods (or arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used for the same purpose), on which they had written some passages of the law, but they all sunk, except that of Zacharias, which floated on the water; and he had thereupon the care of the child committed to him².

^e Besides an instance of this given in the Korân itself³, which I shall not here anticipate, a Mohammedan writer (of no very great credit indeed) tells two stories, one of Jesus's speaking while in his mother's womb, to reprove her cousin Joseph for his unjust suspicions of her⁴; and another of his giving an answer to the same person

¹ Al Beidâwa.

² Idem. Jallalo'ddin, &c.

³ Chap. 19.

⁴ V. Sikii

notas in Evang. Infant. p. 5.

when he is grown up^a; and he shall be *one* of the righteous: she answered, LORD, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? *the angel* said, So GOD createth that which he pleaseth: when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is: GOD shall teach him the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel; and *shall appoint him his* apostle to the children of Israel; *and he shall say*, Verily I come unto you with a sign from your LORD; for I will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird^b; then I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of GOD^c: and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth; and the leper: and I will raise the dead^d by the permission of

soon after he was born. For Joseph being sent by Zacharias to seek Mary (who had gone out of the city by night to conceal her delivery), and having found her, began to expostulate with her, but she made no reply; whereupon the child spoke these words: *Rejoice, O Joseph, and be of good cheer; for God hath brought me forth from the darkness of the womb, to the light of the world; and I shall go to the children of Israel, and invite them to the obedience of God*¹.

These seem all to have been taken from some fabulous traditions of the eastern Christians, one of which is preserved to us in the spurious gospel of the *Infancy of Christ*; where we read that Jesus spoke while yet in the cradle, and said to his mother, *Verily I am Jesus the son of God, the word which thou hast brought forth, as the angel Gabriel did declare unto thee; and my Father hath sent me to save the world*².

^a The Arabic word properly signifies a man in full age, that is, between thirty or thirty-four and fifty-one; and the passage may relate to Christ's preaching here on earth. But as he had scarce attained this age when he was taken up into heaven, the commentators choose to understand it of his second coming³.

^b Some say it was a bat⁴, though others suppose Jesus made several birds of different sorts⁵.

This circumstance is also taken from the following fabulous tradition, which may be found in the spurious gospel abovementioned. Jesus being seven years old, and at play with several children of his age, they made several figures of birds and beasts, for their diversion, of clay; and each preferring his own workmanship, Jesus told them that he would make his walk and leap; which accordingly, at his command, they did. He made also several figures of sparrows and other birds, which flew about or stood on his hands as he ordered them, and also ate and drank when he offered them meat and drink. The children telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play any more with Jesus, whom they held to be a sorcerer⁶.

^c The commentators observe that these words are added here, and in the next sentence, lest it should be thought Jesus did these miracles by his own power, or was God⁷.

^d Jallalo'ddin mentions three persons whom Christ restored to life, and who lived several years after, and had children; viz. Lazarus, the widow's son, and the publican's (I suppose he means the ruler of the synagogue's) daughter. He adds that he also raised Shem the son of Noah, who, as another writes⁸, thinking he had been

¹ Al Kessai, apud eundem. Bcidâwi. ⁴ Jallalo'ddin. &c. ⁷ Al Beidâwi, &c.

² Evang. Infant. p. 5.

⁵ Al Thalabi.

⁸ Al Thalabi.

³ Jallalo'ddin. Al

⁶ Evang. Infant. p. 111,

GOD : and I will prophesy unto you what ye eat, and what ye lay up for store in your houses. Verily herein will be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And *I* come to confirm the law which was *revealed* before me, and to allow unto you as lawful part of that which hath been forbidden you^a: and I come unto you with a sign from your LORD^{*}; therefore fear GOD, and obey me. Verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD: therefore serve him. This is the right way. But when Jesus perceived their unbelief, he said, Who *will be* my helpers towards GOD? The apostles^b answered, We *will be* the helpers of GOD; we believe in GOD, and do thou bear witness that we are true believers. O LORD, we believe in that which thou hast sent down, and we have followed thy apostle; write us down therefore with those who bear witness *of him*. And the Jews devised a stratagem *against him*^c; but GOD devised a stratagem *against them*^{†d}; and GOD is the best deviser

called to judgment, came out of his grave with his head half grey, whereas men did not grow grey in his days; after which he immediately died again.

^a Such as the eating of fish that have neither fins nor scales, the cawl and fat of animals, and camels' flesh, and to work on the sabbath. These things, say the commentators, being arbitrary institutions in the law of Moses, were abrogated by Jesus; as several of the same kind instituted by the latter have been since abrogated by Mohammed¹.

^{*} "God has given unto me the power of miracles."—*Savary*.

^b In Arabic, *al Hawâriyûn*; which word they derive from *Hâra*, to be white, and suppose the apostles were so called either from the *candour* and *sincerity* of their minds, or because they were princes and wore white garments, or else because they were by trade *fullers*². According to which last opinion, their vocation is thus related: That as Jesus passed by the sea side, he saw some fullers at work, and accosting them, said, *Ye cleanse these cloths, but cleanse not your hearts*; upon which they believed on him. But the true etymology seems to be from the Ethiopic verb *Hawrya*, to go; whence *Nawârya* signifies *one that is sent, a messenger or apostle*³.

^c *i. e.* They laid a design to take away his life.

[†] "The Jews were treacherous unto Jesus. God frustrated their treachery. He is more powerful than the deceivers."—*Savary*.

^d This stratagem of God's was the taking of Jesus up into heaven, and stamping his likeness on another person, who was apprehended and crucified in his stead. For it is the constant doctrine of the Mohammedans, that it was not Jesus himself who underwent that ignominious death, but somebody else in his shape and resemblance⁴. The person crucified some will have to be a spy that was sent to entrap him; others that it was one Titian, who by the direction of Judas entered in at a window of the house where Jesus was, to kill him; and others that it was Judas himself, who agreed with the rulers of the Jews to betray him for thirty pieces of silver, and led those who were sent to take him.

They add⁵, that Jesus after his crucifixion in *effigie* was sent down again to the

¹ Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin. ² Ibidem. ³ V. Ludolfi Lexic. Æthiop. col. 40. et Golii notas ad cap. 61. Korâni, p. 205. ⁴ See Korân, c. 4. ⁵ V. Mar-racc. in Alc. p. 113, &c. et in Prodr. part 3, p. 63, &c.

of stratagems. When GOD said, O Jesus, verily I will cause thee to die^a, and I will take thee up unto

earth, to comfort his mother and disciples, and acquaint them how the Jews were deceived; and was then taken up a second time into heaven.

It is supposed by several that this story was an original invention of Mohammed's; but they are certainly mistaken: for several sectaries held the same opinion, long before his time. The Basilidians¹, in the very beginning of Christianity, denied that Christ himself suffered, but that Simon the Cyrenean was crucified in his place. The Cerinthians before them, and the Carpocratians next (to name no more of those, who affirmed Jesus to have been a mere man) did believe the same thing; that it was not himself but one of his followers, very like him, that was crucified. Photius tells us, that he read a book entitled *The journeys of the apostles*, relating the acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, and among other things contained therein, this was one, *that Christ was not crucified, but another in his stead*, and that therefore *he laughed at his crucifiers*², or those who thought they had crucified him³.

I have in another place⁴ mentioned an apocryphal gospel of Barnabas, a forgery originally of some nominal Christians, but interpolated since by Mohammedans; which gives this part of the history of Jesus with circumstances too curious to be omitted. It is therein related, that the moment the Jews were going to apprehend Jesus in the garden, he was snatched up into the third heaven, by the ministry of four angels, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel; that he will not die till the end of the world, and that it was Judas who was crucified in his stead; God having permitted that traitor to appear so like his master, in the eyes of the Jews, that they took and delivered him to Pilate. That this resemblance was so great, that it deceived the Virgin Mary and the apostles themselves; but that Jesus Christ afterwards obtained leave of God to go and comfort them. That Barnabas having then asked him, why the divine goodness had suffered the mother and disciples of so holy a prophet to believe even for one moment that he had died in so ignominious a manner? Jesus returned the following answer. "O Barnabas, believe me that every sin, how small soever, is punished by God with great torment, because God is offended with sin. My mother therefore and faithful disciples, having loved me with a mixture of earthly love, the just God has been pleased to punish this love with their present grief, that they might not be punished for it hereafter in the flames of hell. And as for me, though I have myself been blameless in the world, yet other men having called me God, and the son of God; therefore God, that I might not be mocked by the devils at the day of judgment, has been pleased that in this world I should be mocked by men with the death of Judas, making every body believe that I died upon the cross. And hence it is that this mocking is still to continue till the coming of Mohammed, the messenger of God; who, coming into the world, will undeceive every one who shall believe in the law of God, from this mistake⁵."

^a It is the opinion of a great many Mohammedans, that Jesus was taken up into heaven without dying: which opinion is consonant to what is delivered in the spurious gospel above-mentioned. Wherefore several of the commentators say that there is a *hysteron proteron* in these words, *I will cause thee to die, and I will take thee up unto me*; and that the copulative does not import order, or that he died before his assumption; the meaning being this, *viz.* that God would first take Jesus up to heaven, and deliver him from the infidels, and afterwards cause him to die: which they suppose is to happen when he shall return into the world again, before the last day⁶. Some, thinking the order of the words is not to be changed, interpret them figuratively, and suppose their signification to be that Jesus was lifted up while he was asleep, or that God caused him to die a spiritual death to all worldly desires. But others acknowledge that he actually died a natural death, and continued in that state three hours, or, according to another tradition, seven hours; after which he was restored to life, and then taken up to heaven⁷.

¹ Irenæus, l. 1, c. 23, &c. Epiphan. Hæres. 24, num. 3.
Cod. 114, col. 291.

³ Toland's Nazarenus, p. 17, &c.

§ IV. p. 102.

⁵ See the Menagiana, Tom. 4, p. 326, &c.

Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 111.

⁷ Al Beidâwi.

² Photius, Bibl.

⁴ Prelim. Disc.

⁶ See the

me^a, and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers; and I will place those who follow thee above the unbelievers, until the day of resurrection^b: then unto me shall ye return, and I will judge between you of that concerning which ye disagree. Moreover, as for the infidels, I will punish them with a grievous punishment in this world, and in that which is to come; and there shall be none to help them. But they who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give them their reward: for GOD loveth not the wicked doers. These signs and this prudent admonition do we rehearse unto thee. Verily the likeness of Jesus in the sight of GOD is as the likeness of Adam: he created him out of the dust, and then said unto him, Be; and he was^{c*}. *This is the truth from thy LORD*; be not therefore *one* of those who doubt: and whoever shall dispute with thee concerning him^d, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, say *unto them*, Come, let us call together our sons, and your sons, and our wives, and your wives, and ourselves, and yourselves; then let us make imprecations, and lay the curse of GOD on those who lie^e. Verily this is a true history: and

^a Some Mohammedans say this was done by the ministry of Gabriel: but others that a strong whirlwind took him up from mount Olivet¹.

^b That is, they who believe in Jesus (among whom the Mahommedans reckon themselves) shall be for ever superior to the Jews, both in arguments and in arms. And accordingly, says al Beidâwi, to this very day the Jews have never prevailed either against the Christians or Moslems, nor have they any kingdom or established government of their own.

^c He was like to Adam in respect of his miraculous production by the immediate power of God².

* "In the sight of the Highest, Jesus is a man like unto Adam. Adam was created out of the dust. God said unto him, Be! and he was."—*Savary*.

^d Namely, Jesus.

^e To explain this passage the commentators tell the following story. That some Christians, with their bishop named Abu Hareth, coming to Mohammed as ambassadors from the inhabitants of Najrân, and entering into some disputes with him touching religion and the history of Jesus Christ, they agreed the next morning to abide the trial here mentioned, as a quick way of deciding which of them were in the wrong. Mohammed met them accordingly, accompanied by his daughter Fâtima, his son-in-law Ali, and his two grandsons, Hasan and Hosein, and desired them to wait till he had said his prayers. But when they saw him kneel down, their resolution failed them, and they durst not venture to curse him, but submitted to pay him tribute³.

¹ Al Thalabi. See 2 Kings ii. 1, 11.
lalo'ddin. Al Beidâwi.

² Jallalo'ddin, &c.

³ Jal-

there is no GOD, but GOD; and GOD is most mighty and wise. If they turn back, GOD well knoweth the evil doers. Say, O ye who have received the scripture, come to a just determination between us and you^a; that we worship not *any* except GOD, and associate no creature with him; and that the one of us take not the other for lords^b, beside GOD. But if they turn back, say, Bear witness that we are true believers. O ye to whom the scriptures have been given, why do ye dispute concerning Abraham^c, since the Law and the Gospel were not sent down until after him? Do ye not therefore understand? Behold ye are they who dispute concerning that which ye have some knowledge in; why therefore do ye dispute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of^d? GOD knoweth, but ye know not. Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian; but he was of the true religion, one resigned *unto God*, and was not of the *number of the idolaters*. Verily the men who are the nearest *of kin* unto Abraham are they who follow him; and this prophet, and they who believe *on him*: GOD is the patron of the faithful. Some of those who have received the scriptures desire to seduce you^e; but they seduce themselves only, and they perceive *it* not. O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of GOD, since ye are witnesses *of them*? O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth^f? And some of those to whom the scrip-

^a That is, to such terms of agreement as are indisputably consonant to the doctrine of all the prophets and scriptures, and therefore cannot be reasonably rejected¹.

^b Besides other charges of idolatry on the Jews and Christians, Mohammed accused them of paying too implicit an obedience to their priests and monks, who took upon them to pronounce what things were lawful, and what unlawful, and to dispense with the laws of God².

^c *viz.* By pretending him to have been of your religion.

^d *i. e.* Ye perversely dispute even concerning those things which ye find in the Law and the Gospel, whereby it appears that they were both sent down long after Abraham's time: why then will ye offer to dispute concerning such points of Abraham's religion, of which your scriptures say nothing, and of which ye consequently can have no knowledge³?

^e This passage was revealed when the Jews endeavoured to pervert Hodheifa, Ammâr, and Moâdh to their religion⁴.

^f The Jews and Christians are again accused of corrupting the scriptures, and stifling the prophecies concerning Mohammed.

¹ Jallalo'ddin. Al Beidâwi.

² *Iidem.*

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ *Idem.*

tures were given say, Believe in that which hath been sent down unto those who believe, in the beginning of the day; and deny *it* in the end thereof; that they may go back *from their faith*^a: and believe him only who followeth your religion. Say, Verily the *true* direction is the direction of GOD, that there may be given unto some other *a revelation* like unto what hath been given unto you. Will they dispute with you before your LORD? Say, Surely excellence is in the hand of GOD, he giveth it unto whom he pleaseth; GOD is bounteous and wise: he will confer peculiar mercy on whom he pleaseth; for GOD is endued with great beneficence. There is of those who have received the scriptures, unto whom if thou trust a talent, he will restore it unto thee^b; and *there is also* of them, unto whom if thou trust a dinâr, he will not restore it unto thee, unless thou stand over him continually *with great urgency*^c. This *they do*, because they say,

^a The commentators to explain this passage say, that Caab Ebn al Ashraf and Malec Ebn al Seif (two Jews of Medina) advised their companions, when the Kebra was changed¹, to make as if they believed it was done by the divine direction, and to pray towards the Caaba in the morning, but that in the evening they should pray as formerly towards the temple of Jerusalem; that Mohammed's followers, imagining the Jews were better judges of this matter than themselves, might imitate their example. But others say these were certain Jewish priests of Khaibar, who directed some of their people to pretend in the morning that they had embraced Mohammedism, but in the close of the day to say that they had looked into their books of scripture, and consulted their Rabbins, and could not find that Mohammed was the person described and intended in the law; by which trick they hoped to raise doubts in the minds of the Mohammedans².

^b As an instance of this, the commentators bring Abd'allah Ebn Salâm, a Jew, very intimate with Mohammed³, to whom one of the Koreish lent 1200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually paid at the time appointed⁴.

^c Al Beidâwi produces an example of such a piece of injustice in one Phineas Ebn Azûra, a Jew, who borrowed a *dinâr*, which is a gold coin worth about ten shillings, of a Koreishite, and afterwards had the conscience to deny it.

But the person more directly struck at in this passage was the abovementioned Caab Ebn al Ashraf, a most inveterate enemy of Mohammed and his religion, of whom Jallalo'ddin relates the same story as al Beidâwi does of Phineas. This Caab after the battle of Bedr went to Mecca, and there, to excite the Koreish to revenge themselves, made and recited verses lamenting the death of those who were slain in that battle, and reflecting very severely on Mohammed; and he afterwards returned to Medina, and had the boldness to repeat them publicly there also; at which Mohammed was so exceedingly provoked, that he proscribed him, and sent a party of men to kill him, and he was circumvented and slain by Mohammed Ebn Moslema in the third year of the Hejra⁵. Dr. Prideaux⁶ has confounded the Caab we are now

¹ See before c. 2, p. 24.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ See Prideaux's *Life of*

Mahom. p. 33.

⁴ Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin.

⁵ Al Jannabi. Elmacin.

⁶ *Life of Mahom.* p. 78, &c.

We are not obliged to observe justice with the heathen : but they utter a lie against GOD, knowingly. Yea, whoso keepeth his covenant, and feareth *God*, GOD surely loveth those who fear *him*. But they who make merchandize of GOD's covenant, and of their oaths, for a small price, shall have no portion in the next life, neither shall GOD speak to them or regard them on the day of resurrection, nor shall he cleanse them ; but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. And there are certainly some of them, who read the scriptures perversely, that ye may think *what they read* to be really in the scriptures, yet it is not in the scripture ; and they say, This is from GOD ; but it is not from GOD : and they speak that which is false concerning GOD, against their own knowledge. It is not *fit* for a man, that GOD should give him a book of *revelations*, and wisdom, and prophecy ; and then he should say unto men, Be ye worshippers of me, besides GOD ; but *he ought to say*, Be ye perfect in knowledge and in works, since ye know the scriptures, and exercise yourselves therein^a. *God* hath not commanded *you* to take the angels and the prophets for *your* Lords : Will he command *you* to become infidels, after ye have been true believers ? And *remember* when GOD accepted the covenant of the prophets^b, *saying*, *This verily is*

speaking of, with another very different person of the same name, and a famous poet, but who was the son of Zohair, and no Jew ; as a learned gentleman has already observed¹. In consequence of which mistake, the doctor attributes what the Arabian historians write of the latter, to the former, and wrongly affirms that he was not put to death by Mohammed.

Some of the commentators however suppose that in the former part of this passage the Christians are intended, who, they say, are generally people of some honour and justice ; and in the latter part the Jews, who they think are more given to cheating and dishonesty².

^a This passage was revealed, say the commentators, in answer to the Christians, who insisted that Jesus had commanded them to worship him as God. Al Beidāwi adds that two Christians, named Abu Râfé al Koradhî and al Seyid al Najrânî, offered to acknowledge Mohammed for their Lord, and to worship him ; to which he answered, *God forbid that we should worship any besides God*.

^b Some commentators interpret this of the children of Israel themselves, of whose race the prophets were. But others say the souls of all the prophets, even of those who were not then born, were present on mount Sinai, when God gave the law to Moses, and that they entered into the covenant here mentioned with him. A story borrowed by Mohammed from the Talmudists, and therefore most probably his true meaning in this place.

¹ V. Gagnier, in Not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 64, et 122.

² Al Beidāwi.

the scripture and the wisdom which I have given you : hereafter shall an apostle come unto you, confirming the truth of that *scripture* which is with you ; ye shall surely believe in him, and ye shall assist him. *God* said, Are ye firmly resolved, and do ye accept my covenant on this *condition* ? They answered, We are firmly resolved : *God* said, Be ye therefore witnesses ; and I also bear witness with you : and whosoever turneth back after this, they are surely the transgressors. Do they therefore seek any other religion but *GOD's* ? since to him is resigned whosoever is in heaven or on earth, voluntarily, or of force : and to him shall they return. Say, We believe in *GOD*, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was sent down unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered to Moses, and Jesus, and the prophets, from their *LORD* ; we make no distinction between any of them ; and to him are we resigned. Whoever followeth any other religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him : and in the next life he shall be of those who perish ^a. How shall *GOD* direct men who have become infidels after they had believed, and borne witness that the apostle was true, and manifest declarations of the *divine will* had come unto them ? for *GOD* directeth not the ungodly people. Their reward shall be, that on them *shall fall* the curse of *GOD*, and of angels, and of all mankind : they shall remain under the same for ever ; their torment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be regarded ; except those who repent after this, and amend ; for *GOD* is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who become infidels after they have believed, and yet increase in infidelity, their repentance shall in no wise be accepted, and they are those who go astray. Verily they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, the world full of gold shall in no wise be accepted from any of them, even though he should give it for his ransom ; they

^a See before, ch. 2. p. 11, not. c.

shall suffer a grievous punishment, and they shall have none to help them. * Ye will never IV. attain unto righteousness, until ye give in alms of that which ye love: and whatever ye give, GOD knoweth it. All food was permitted unto the children of Israel, except what Israel forbade unto himself^a, before the Pentateuch was sent down^b. Say unto the Jews, Bring hither the Pentateuch and read it, if ye speak truth. Whoever therefore contriveth a lie against GOD after this, they will be evil doers. Say, GOD is true: follow ye therefore the religion of Abraham the orthodox; for he was no idolater. Verily the first house appointed unto men to worship in was that which is in Becca^c; blessed, and a direction to all creatures^d. Therein are manifest signs^e: the place where Abraham stood; and whoever entereth therein, shall be safe. And it is a duty towards GOD, incumbent on those who are able to go thither^f, to visit this house; but

* This passage was revealed on the Jews reproaching Mohammed and his followers with their eating of the flesh and milk of camels¹, which they said was forbidden Abraham, whose religion Mohammed pretended to follow. In answer to which he tells them, that God ordained no distinction of meats before he gave the law to Moses, though Jacob voluntarily abstained from the flesh and milk of camels; which some commentators say was the consequence of a vow made by that patriarch, when afflicted with the *sciatica*, that if he were cured he would eat no more of that meat which he liked best; and that was camel's flesh: but others suppose he abstained from it by the advice of physicians only².

This exposition seems to be taken from the children of Israel's not eating of the sinew on the hollow of the thigh, because the angel, with whom Jacob wrestled at Peniel, touched *the hollow of his thigh in the sinew that shrank*³.

^b Wherein the Israelites, because of their wickedness and perverseness, were forbidden to eat certain animals which had been allowed their predecessors⁴.

^c Mohammed received this passage, when the Jews said that their Kebla, or the temple of Jerusalem, was more ancient than that of the Mohammedans, or the Caaba⁵. Becca is another name of Mecca⁶. Al Beidawi observes that the Arabs used the M and B promiscuously in several words.

^d i. e. The Kebla, towards which they are to turn their faces in prayer.

^e Such as the stone wherein they show the print of Abraham's feet, and the inviolable security of the place, immediately mentioned; that the birds light not on the roof of the Kaaba, and wild beasts put off their fierceness there; that none who came against it in a hostile manner ever prospered⁷, as appeared particularly in the unfortunate expedition of Abrahah al Ashram⁸; and other fables of the same stamp which the Mohammedans are taught to believe.

^f According to an exposition of this passage, attributed to Mohammed, he is sup-

¹ See Lev. xi. 4. Deut. xiv. 7. ² Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin. ³ Gen. xxxii. 32.

⁴ Koran, c. 4. See the notes there.

⁵ Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin.

⁶ See the Prelim. Disc. § 1. p. 4.

⁷ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi.

⁸ See

Koran, c. 105.

whosoever disbelieveth, verily GOD needeth not *the service* of any creature. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of GOD? Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye keep back from the way of GOD, him who believeth? Ye seek to make it crooked, and yet are witnesses *that it is the right*: but GOD will not be unmindful of what ye do. O true believers, if ye obey some of those who have received the scripture, they will render you infidels, after ye have believed^a: and how can ye be infidels, when the signs of GOD are read unto you, and his apostle is among you? But he who cleaveth firmly unto GOD, is already directed into the right way. O believers, fear GOD with his true fear; and die not unless ye also be true believers*. And cleave all *of you* unto the covenant^b of GOD, and depart not *from it*, and remember the favour of GOD

posed to be able to perform the pilgrimage, who can supply himself with provisions for the journey, and a beast to ride upon. Al Shâfeî has decided that those who have money enough, if they cannot go themselves, must hire some other to go in their room. Malec Ebn Ans thinks he is to be reckoned *able*, who is strong and healthy, and can bear the fatigue of the journey on foot, if he has no beast to ride, and can also earn his living by the way. But Abu Hanîfa is of opinion that both money sufficient and health of body are requisite to make the pilgrimage a duty¹.

^a This passage was revealed on occasion of a quarrel excited between the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj, by one Shâs Ebn Kais, a Jew; who passing by some of both tribes as they were sitting and discoursing familiarly together, and being inwardly vexed at the friendship and harmony which reigned among them on their embracing Mohammedism, whereas they had been, for 120 years before, most inveterate and mortal enemies, though descendants of two brothers; in order to set them at variance, sent a young man to sit down by them, directing him to relate the story of the battle of Boâth (a place near Medina), wherein, after a bloody fight, al Aws had the better of al Khazraj, and to repeat some verses on that subject. The young man executed his orders; whereupon those of each tribe began to magnify themselves, and to reflect on and irritate the other, till at length they called to arms, and great numbers getting together on each side, a dangerous battle had ensued, if Mohammed had not stepped in and reconciled them; by representing to them how much they would be to blame if they returned to paganism, and revived those animosities which Islâm had composed; and telling them, that what had happened was a trick of the devil to disturb their present tranquillity².

* "O believers! have a righteous fear of God, and ye will die in the faith."—*Savary*.

^b Literally, *Hold fast by the cord of GOD*. That is, *Secure yourselves by adhering to Islâm*, which is here metaphorically expressed by a *cord*, because it is as sure a means of saving those who profess it from perishing hereafter, as holding by a rope is to prevent one's falling into a well, or other like place. It is said that Mohammed used for the same reason to call the Korân, *Habl ALLAH al matîn*, i. e. *the sure cord of God*³.

¹ Al Beidâwi.² Idem.³ Idem.

towards you : since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour : and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Thus GOD declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed. Let there be people among you, who invite to the best *religion* ; and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil ; and they shall be happy. And be not as they who are divided, and disagree *in matters of religion* ^a, after manifest proofs have been brought unto them : they shall suffer a great torment. On the day of *resurrection* some faces shall become white, and *other* faces shall become black ^b. And unto them whose faces shall become black, *God will say*, Have ye returned unto *your* unbelief, after ye had believed ? therefore taste the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers : but they whose faces shall become white *shall be* in the mercy of GOD, therein shall they remain for ever. These are the signs of GOD : we recite them unto thee with truth. GOD will not deal unjustly with *his* creatures. And to GOD *belongeth* whatever is in heaven and on earth ; and to GOD shall *all* things return. Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind : ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in GOD. And if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for them : there are believers among them ^c, but the greater part of them are transgressors. They shall not hurt you, unless with a *slight* hurt ; and if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you ; and they shall not be helped ^d. They are smitten with vileness where-

^a *i. e.* As the Jews and Christians, who dispute concerning the unity of God, the future state, &c. ¹.

^b See the Preliminary Discourse, § IV.

^c As Abd'allah Ebn Salâm and his companions ², and those of the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj who had embraced Mohammedism.

^d This verse, al Beidâwi says, is one of those whose meaning is mysterious, and relates to something future ; intimating the low condition to which the Jewish tribes of Koreidha, Nadîr, Banu Kainokâ, and those who dwelt at Khaibar, were afterwards reduced by Mohammed.

¹ Al Beidawi.

² Idem.

soever they are found; unless *they obtain security by entering into* a treaty with GOD, and a treaty with men ^a: and they draw on themselves indignation from GOD, and they are afflicted with poverty. This *they suffer*, because they disbelieved the signs of GOD, and slew the prophets unjustly; this, because they were rebellious, and transgressed. Yet they are not all alike: there are of those who have received the scriptures, upright people ^b; they meditate on the signs of GOD ^c in the night season, and worship; they believe in GOD, and the last day; and command that which is just, and forbid that which is unjust, and zealously strive to excel in good works: these are of the righteous. And ye shall not be denied *the reward of the good which ye do* ^d; for GOD knoweth the pious. As for the unbelievers, their wealth shall not profit them at all, neither their children, against GOD: they *shall be* the companions of hell fire; they shall continue therein for ever. The likeness of that which they lay out in this present life *, is as a wind wherein there is a scorching cold: it falleth on the standing corn of those men who have injured their own souls, and destroyeth it. And GOD dealeth not unjustly with them; but they injure their own souls. O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship *with any* besides yourselves ^e: they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish: their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shown you signs of *their ill will towards you*, if ye understand. Behold, ye love them, and they do not love you: ye believe in all the scriptures, and when they meet you, they say, We

* i. e. Unless they either profess the Mohammedan religion, or submit to pay tribute.

^b Those namely who have embraced Islâm.

^c That is the Korân.

^d Some copies have a different reading in this passage, which they express in the third person; *They shall not be denied, &c.*

* "Their alms are like unto an icy wind, which bloweth on the fields of the perverse, and destroyeth their productions."—*Savary*.

^e i. e. Of a different religion.

believe; but when they assemble privately together, they bite their fingers' ends out of wrath against you. Say *unto them*, Die in your wrath: verily GOD knoweth the innermost part of *your* breasts. If good happen unto you, it grieveth them; and if evil befall you, they rejoice at it. But if ye be patient, and fear *God*, their subtilty shall not hurt you at all; for GOD comprehendeth whatever they do. *Call to mind* when thou wentest forth early from thy family, that thou mightest prepare the faithful a camp for war^a; and GOD heard and knew *it*; when two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, so that ye became faint-hearted^b; but GOD was the supporter of them both; and in GOD let the faithful trust. And GOD had already given you the victory at Bedr^c, when ye were inferior *in number*; therefore fear GOD, that ye may be thankful. When thou saidst unto the faithful, Is it not enough

^a This was at the battle of Ohod, a mountain about four miles to the north of Medina. The Koreish, to revenge their loss at Bedr¹, the next year, being the third of the Hejra, got together an army of 3000 men, among whom there were 200 horse, and 700 armed with coats of mail. These forces marched under the conduct of Abu Sofîan and sat down at Dhu'lholeifa, a village about six miles from Medina. Mohammed being much inferior to his enemies in number, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there; but afterwards, the advice of some of his companions prevailing, he marched out against them at the head of 1000 men (some say he had 1050 men and others but 900), of whom 100 were armed with coats of mail, but he had no more than one horse, besides his own, in his whole army. With these forces he formed a camp in a village near Ohod, which mountain he contrived to have on his back; and the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed fifty archers in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. When they came to engage, Mohammed had the better at first, but afterwards by the fault of his archers, who left their ranks for the sake of the plunder, and suffered the enemies' horse to encompass the Mohammedans and attack them in the rear, he lost the day, and was very near losing his life; being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out of which his two foreteeth dropped out. Of the Moslems 70 men were slain, and among them Hamza the uncle of Mohammed, and of the infidels 22². To excuse the ill success of this battle, and to raise the drooping courage of his followers, is Mohammed's drift in the remaining part of this chapter.

^b These were some of the families of Banu Salma of the tribe of al Khazraj, and Banu'l Hareth of the tribe of al Aws, who composed the two wings of Mohammed's army. Some ill impression had been made on them by Abda'llah Ebn Obba Solûl, then an infidel, who having drawn off 300 men, told them that they were going to certain death, and advised them to return back with him; but he could prevail on but a few, the others being kept firm by the divine influence, as the following words intimate³.

^c See before, p. 52.

¹ See before, p. 52.

² Abulfeda, in Vita Moham. p. 64, &c. Elmacin. l. 1. Pridcaux's Life of Mah. p. 80.

³ Al Beidawi.

for you, that your LORD should assist you with three thousand angels, sent down *from heaven*? Verily if ye persevere, and fear *God*, and *your enemies* come upon you suddenly, your LORD will assist you with five thousand angels, distinguished *by their horses and attire*^a. And this GOD designed only as good tidings for you^b that your hearts might rest secure: for victory is from GOD alone, the mighty, the wise. That he should cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers, or cast them down, or that they should be overthrown and unsuccessful*, *is nothing to thee*. It is no business of thine; whether *God* be turned unto them, or whether he punish them; they are surely unjust doers^c. To GOD belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth: he spareth whom he pleaseth, and he punisheth whom he pleaseth; for GOD is merciful. O true believers, devour not usury, doubling it twofold; but fear GOD, that ye may prosper: and fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers; and obey GOD, and *his* apostle, that ye may obtain mercy. And run with emulation to *obtain* remission from your LORD, and paradise, whose breadth *equalleth* the heavens and the earth, which is prepared for the godly; who give alms in prosperity and adversity; who bridle their anger, and forgive men: for GOD loveth the beneficent^d.

^a The angels who assisted the Mohammedans at Bedr, rode, say the commentators, on black and white horses, and had on their heads white and yellow sashes, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders.

^b *i. e.* As an earnest of future success.

* "He, at his pleasure, can overthrow the infidels, put them to flight, or exterminate them."—*Savary*.

^c This passage was revealed when Mohammed received the wounds abovementioned at the battle of Ohod, and cried out *How shall that people prosper who have stained their prophet's face with blood, while he called them to their Lord?* The person who wounded him was Otha the son of Abu Wakkās¹.

^d It is related of Hasan the son of Ali, that a slave having once thrown a dish on him boiling hot, as he sat at table, and fearing his master's resentment, fell immediately on his knees, and repeated these words, *Paradise is for those who bridle their anger: Hasan answered, I am not angry. The slave proceeded, and for those who forgive men: I forgive you*, said Hasan. The slave however finished the verse, adding, *for GOD loveth the beneficent. Since it is so*, replied Hasan, *I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver*². A noble instance of moderation and generosity.

¹ Al Beidāwi. Abulfed. ubi supra. Hassan.

² V. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art.

And who, after they have committed a crime, or dealt unjustly with their own souls, remember GOD, and ask pardon for their sins, (for who forgiveth sins except GOD?) and persevere not in what they have done knowingly: their reward shall be pardon from their LORD, and gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein for ever: and how excellent is the reward of those who labour! There have already been before you examples of punishment of *infidels*^{*}, therefore go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those who accuse *God's apostles* of imposture. This *book* is a declaration unto men, and a direction, and an admonition to the pious. And be not dismayed, neither be ye grieved; for ye shall be superior to the *unbelievers* if ye believe. If a wound hath happened unto you in *war*^a, a like wound hath already happened unto the *unbelieving* people^b: and we cause these days of *different success* interchangeably to succeed each other among men; that GOD may know those who believe, and may have martyrs from among you: (GOD loveth not the workers of iniquity;) and that GOD might prove those who believe, and destroy the infidels. Did ye imagine that ye should enter paradise, when as yet GOD knew not those among you who fought strenuously in *his cause*; nor knew those who persevered with patience? Moreover ye did sometime wish for death before that ye met it^c; but ye have now seen it, and ye looked on, *but retreated from it*. Mohammed is no more than an apostle; the *other* apostles have already deceased before him: if he die,

* "God had given precepts before thy time. Go through the earth, and behold what has been the end of those who accused us of falsehood."—*Savary*.

^a That is, by your being worsted at Ohod.

^b When they were defeated at Bedr. It is observable that the number of Mohammedans slain at Ohod was equal to that of the idolaters slain at Bedr; which was so ordered by God for a reason to be given elsewhere¹.

^c Several of Mohammed's followers who were not present at Bedr, wished for an opportunity of obtaining, in another action, the like honour as those had gained who fell martyrs in that battle; yet were discouraged on seeing the superior numbers of the idolaters in the expedition of Ohod. On which occasion this passage was revealed².

¹ In not. ad cap. 8.

² Al Beidawi.

therefore, or be slain, will ye turn back on your heels^a? but he who turneth back on his heels, will not hurt GOD at all; and GOD will surely reward the thankful. No soul can die unless by the permission of GOD, according to *what is written in the book* containing the determinations of things^b. And whoso chooseth the reward of this world, we will give him thereof: but whoso chooseth the reward of the world to come, we will give him thereof; and we will surely reward the thankful. How many prophets have encountered those who had many myriads *of troops*: and yet they desponded not in their mind for what had befallen them in fighting for the religion of GOD; and were not weakened, neither behaved themselves in an abject manner? GOD loveth those who persevere patiently. And their speech was no other than that they said, Our LORD forgive us our offences, and our transgressions in our business; and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. And GOD gave them the reward of this world, and a glorious reward in the life to come; for GOD loveth the well-doers. O ye who believe, if you obey the infidels, they will cause you to turn back on your heels, and ye will be turned back and perish^c: but GOD is your LORD; and he is the best helper. We will

* These words were revealed when it was reported in the battle of Ohod, that Mohammed was slain: whereupon the idolaters cried out to his followers, *Since your prophet is slain, return to your ancient religion, and to your friends; if Mohammed had been a prophet he had not been slain.* It is related that a Moslem named Ans Ebn al Nadar, uncle to Malec Ebn Ans, hearing these words, said aloud to his companions, *My friends, though Mohammed be slain, certainly Mohammed's Lord liveth and dieth not; therefore value not your lives since the prophet is dead, but fight for the cause for which he fought:* then he cried out, *O God I am excused before thee, and acquitted in thy sight of what they say;* and drawing his sword fought valiantly till he was killed¹.

^b Mohammed, the more effectually to still the murmurs of his party on their defeat, represents to them that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by God, and that those who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate, had they staid at home; whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith. Of the Mohammedan doctrine of absolute predestination I have spoken in another place².

^c This passage was also occasioned by the endeavours of the Koreish to seduce the Mohammedans to their old idolatry, as they fled in the battle of Ohod.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Prelim. Disc. § IV.

surely cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers^a, because they have associated with GOD that concerning which he sent them down no power: their dwelling shall be the fire of *hell*; and the receptacle of the wicked shall be miserable. GOD had already made good unto you his promise, when ye destroyed them by his permission^b, until ye became faint-hearted, and disputed concerning the command of *the apostle*, and were rebellious^c; after *God* had shown you what ye desired. Some of you chose this present world, and others of you chose the world to come^d. Then he turned you *to flight* from before them, that he might make trial of you: (but he hath now pardoned you: for GOD is endued with beneficence towards the faithful;) when ye went up *as ye fled*, and looked not back on any*: while the apostle called you^e, in the uttermost part of you. Therefore *God* rewarded you with affliction on affliction, that ye be not grieved *hereafter* for the *spoils* which ye fail of, nor for that which be-falleth you^f; for GOD is well acquainted with what-

^a To this Mohammed attributed the sudden retreat of Abu Sofîan and his troops, without making any farther advantage of their success; only giving Mohammed a challenge to meet them next year at Bedr, which he accepted. Others say, that as they were on their march home, they repented they had not utterly extirpated the Mohammedans, and began to think of going back to Medina for that purpose; but were prevented by a sudden consternation or panic fear, which fell on them from God¹.

^b *i. e.* In the beginning of the battle, when the Moslems had the advantage, putting the idolaters to flight, and killing several of them.

^c That is, till the bow-men, who were placed behind to prevent their being surrounded, seeing the enemy fly, quitted their post, contrary to Mohammed's express orders, and dispersed themselves to seize the plunder; whereupon Khâled Ebn al Walid, perceiving their disorder, fell on their rear with the horse which he commanded, and turned the fortune of the day. It is related that though Abda'llah Ebn Johair, their captain, did all he could to make them keep their ranks, he had not ten that staid with him out of the whole fifty².

^d The former were they who, tempted by the spoil, quitted their post; and the latter they who stood firm by their leader.

^e "When you took to disorderly flight, you no longer listened to the voice of the apostle, who called you back to the combat. Heaven chastised you for your disobedience. Let not your disgrace, and the loss of booty, render you inconsolable; all your actions are known unto God."—*Savary*.

^f Crying aloud, *Come hither to me, O servants of God; I am the apostle of God: he who returneth back shall enter paradise*. But notwithstanding all his endeavours to rally his men, he could not get above thirty of them about him.

¹ *i. e.* God punished your avarice and disobedience by suffering you to be beaten by your enemies, and to be discouraged by the report of your prophet's death; that ye might be inured to patience under adverse fortune, and not repine at any loss or disappointment for the future.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem. V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 65, 66, et not. ib.

ever ye do. Then he sent down upon you after affliction security; a soft sleep which fell on some part of you; but *other* part were troubled by their own souls^a; falsely thinking of GOD a foolish imagination, saying, Will any thing of the matter *happen* unto us^b? Say, Verily the matter *belongeth* wholly unto GOD. They concealed in their minds what they declared not unto thee; saying^c, If any thing of the matter had happened unto us^d, we had not been slain here. Answer, If ye had been in your houses, verily they would have gone forth to fight, whose slaughter was decreed, to the places where they died, and *this came to pass* that GOD might try what was in your breasts, and might discern what was in your hearts; for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of *men*. Verily they among you who turned their backs on the day whereon the two armies met each other at *Ohod*, Satan caused them to slip, for some *crime* which they had committed^e: but now hath GOD forgiven them; for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, be not as they who believed not, and said of their brethren, when they had journeyed in the land or had been at war, If they had been with us, those had not died, nor had these been slain: *whereas what befel them was so ordained* that GOD might make it *matter of* sighing in their hearts. GOD giveth life, and causeth to die: and GOD seeth that which ye do. Moreover if ye be slain, or die in

^a After the action, those who had stood firm in the battle were refreshed, as they lay in the field, by falling into an agreeable sleep, so that the swords fell out of their hands; but those who had behaved themselves ill were troubled in their minds, imagining they were now given over to destruction¹.

^b "After this disastrous event God caused security and slumber to descend upon a part of you. The others, disturbed in mind, dared, in their wild imaginations, to attribute falsehood unto God. Are these, said they, the promises of the prophet? Answer to them, The Highest is the author of this calamity."—*Savary*.

^c That is, Is there any appearance of success, or of the divine favour and assistance which we have been promised²?

^d *i. e.* To themselves, or to one another in private.

^e If God had assisted us according to his promise; or, as others interpret the words, if we had taken the advice of Abdallah Ebn Obba Solûl, and had kept within the town of Medina; our companions had not lost their lives³.

^f *viz.* For their covetousness in quitting their post to seize the plunder.

¹ Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin.

² *Iidem.*

³ *Iidem.*

defence of the religion of GOD; verily pardon from GOD, and mercy, is better than what they heap together *of worldly riches*. And if ye die, or be slain, verily unto GOD shall ye be gathered. And as to the mercy *granted unto the disobedient* from GOD, thou O Mohammed hast been mild towards them; but if thou hadst been severe, and hard-hearted, they had surely separated themselves from about thee. Therefore forgive them, and ask pardon for them: and consult them in the affair *of war*; and after thou hast deliberated, trust in GOD; for GOD loveth those who trust *in him*. If GOD help you, none shall conquer you; but if he desert you, who is it that will help you after him? Therefore in GOD let the faithful trust. It is not *the part* of a prophet to defraud^a, for he who defraudeth, shall bring with him what he hath defrauded *any one of*, on the day of the resurrection^b. Then shall every soul be paid what he hath gained; and they shall not be treated unjustly. Shall he therefore who followeth that which is well-pleasing unto GOD be as he who bringeth on himself wrath from GOD, and whose receptacle is hell? an evil journey shall it be *thither*. There shall be degrees *of rewards and punishments* with GOD, for GOD seeth what they do. Now hath GOD been gracious unto the believers when he raised up among them an apostle of their own nation^c, who should recite his signs unto them, and purify them, and teach them the book *of the Koran* and wisdom^d;

^a This passage was revealed, as some say, on the division of the spoil at Bedr; when some of the soldiers suspected Mohammed of having privately taken a scarlet carpet made all of silk and very rich, which was missing¹. Others suppose the archers, who occasioned the loss of the battle of Ohod, left their station because they imagined Mohammed would not give them their share of the plunder; because, as it is related, he once sent out a party as an advanced guard, and in the mean time attacking the enemy, took some spoils which he divided among those who were with him in the action, and gave nothing to the party that was absent on duty².

^b According to a tradition of Mohammed, whoever cheateth another will on the day of judgment carry his fraudulent purchase publicly on his neck.

^c Some copies instead of *min anfosihi*, i. e. *of themselves*, read *min anfasihi*, i. e. *of the noblest among them*; for such was the tribe of Koreish, of which Mohammed was descended³.

^d i. e. The Sonna⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'uddin.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Idem.

⁴ Idem.

whereas they were before in manifest error. After a misfortune hath befallen you *at Ohod*, (ye had already obtained two equal advantages^a) do ye say, Whence cometh this? Answer, This is from yourselves^b: for GOD is almighty. And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by the permission of GOD; and that he might know the faithful, and that he might know the ungodly. It was said unto them, Come, fight for the religion of GOD, or drive back *the enemy*: they answered, If we had known *ye went out* to fight, we had certainly followed you^c. They were on that day nearer unto unbelief, than they were to faith; they spake with their mouths, what was not in their hearts: but GOD perfectly knew what they concealed; who said of their brethren, *while themselves stayed at home*, if they had obeyed us, they had not been slain. Say, Then keep back death from yourselves, if ye say truth. Thou shalt in no wise reckon those who have been slain *at Ohod*, in the cause of GOD, dead; nay, they are sustained alive with their LORD^d, rejoicing for what GOD of his favour hath granted them; and being glad for those, who coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them^e; because there shall no fear come on them, neither shall they be grieved. They are filled with joy for the favour *which they have received* from GOD, and *his* bounty; and for that GOD suffereth not the reward of the faithful to perish. They who hearkened unto GOD and *his* apostle, after a wound had befallen them *at Ohod*^f, such of them as do good

^a viz. In the battle of Bedr, where ye slew seventy of the enemy, equalling the number of those who lost their lives at Ohod, and also took as many prisoners¹.

^b It was the consequence of your disobeying the orders of the prophet, and abandoning your post for the sake of plunder.

^c That is, if we had conceived the least hopes of success when ye marched out of Medina to encounter the infidels, and had not known that ye went rather to certain destruction than to battle, we had gone with you. But this Mohammed here tells them was only a feigned excuse; the true reason of their staying behind being their want of faith and firmness in their religion².

^d See before, p. 26.

^e i. e. Rejoicing also for their sakes, who are destined to suffer martyrdom, but have not as yet attained it³.

^f The commentators differ a little as to the occasion of this passage. When news

¹ See before, p. 52.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ V. Revel. vi. 11.

works, and fear *God*, shall have a great reward; unto whom *certain* men said, Verily the men of *Mecca* have already gathered *forces* against you, be ye therefore afraid of them^a: but *this* increased their faith, and they said, *GOD* is our support, and the most excellent patron. Wherefore they returned with favour from *GOD*, and advantage^b: no evil befel them: and they followed what was well pleasing unto *GOD*: for *GOD* is endowed with great liberality. Verily that devil^c would cause you to fear his friends: but be ye not afraid of them; but fear me, if ye be true believers. They shall not grieve thee, who emulously hasten unto infidelity; for they shall never hurt *GOD* at all. *GOD* will not give them a part in the next life, and they shall suffer a great punishment. Surely those who purchase infidelity with faith* shall by no means hurt

was brought to Mohammed, after the battle of Ohod, that the enemy, repenting of their retreat, were returning towards Medina, he called about him those who had stood by him in the battle, and marched out to meet the enemy as far as Homarâ al Asad, about eight miles from that town, notwithstanding several of his men were so ill of their wounds that they were forced to be carried; but a panic fear having seized the army of the Koreish, they changed their resolution, and continued their march home; of which Mohammed having received intelligence, he also went back to Medina: and according to some commentators the Korân here approves the faith and courage of those who attended the prophet on this occasion. Others say the persons intended in this passage were those who went with Mohammed the next year, to meet Abu Sofîân and the Koreish, according to their challenge, at Bedr¹, where they waited some time for the enemy, and then returned home; for the Koreish, though they set out from Mecca, yet never came so far as the place of appointment, their hearts failing them on their march; which Mohammed attributed to their being struck with a terror from God². This expedition the Arabian histories call the *second, or lesser expedition of Bedr*.

* The persons who thus endeavoured to discourage the Mohammedans were, according to one tradition, some of the tribe of Abd Kais, who going to Medina were bribed by Abu Sofîân with a camel's load of dried raisins; and according to another tradition, it was Noaim Ebn Masûd al Ashjaï, who was also bribed with a she camel ten months gone with young (a valuable present in Arabia). This Noaim, they say, finding Mohammed and his men preparing for the expedition, told them that Abu Sofîân, to spare them the pains of coming so far as Bedr, would seek them in their own houses, and that none of them could possibly escape otherwise than by timely flight. Upon which Mohammed, seeing his followers a little dispirited, swore that he would go himself though not one of them went with him. And accordingly he set out with seventy horsemen, every one of them crying out *Hashna Allah*, i. e. *God is our support*³.

^b While they staid at Bedr expecting the enemy, they opened a kind of fair there, and traded to very considerable profit⁴.

^c Meaning either Noaim, or Abu Sofîân himself.

* "Those who apostatise from interest do not hurt the Highest. Hell shall be their abode."—*Savary*.

¹ See before, p. 75, not. a. ² Al Beidâwi. ³ Idem. Jallalo'ddin. ⁴ Al Beidâwi.

GOD at all, but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. And let not the unbelievers think, because we grant them lives long and prosperous, that it is better for their souls : we grant them long and prosperous lives only that their iniquity may be increased ; and they shall suffer an ignominious punishment. GOD is not *disposed* to leave the faithful in the condition which ye are now in^a, until he sever the wicked from the good* ; nor is GOD *disposed* to make you acquainted with what is a hidden secret, but GOD chooseth such of his apostles as he pleaseth, *to reveal his mind unto*^b : believe therefore in GOD, and his apostles ; and if ye believe, and fear God, ye shall receive a great reward. And let not those who are covetous of what GOD of his bounty hath granted them imagine that *their avarice* is better for them : nay, rather it is worse for them. That which they have covetously reserved shall be bound as a collar about their neck^c, on the day of the resurrection : unto GOD *belongeth* the inheritance of heaven and earth ; and GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. GOD hath already heard the saying of those who said, Verily GOD is poor, and we are rich^d : we will surely write down what they have said, and the slaughter which they have made of the prophets without a cause ; and we will say *unto them*, Taste ye the pain

^a That is, he will not suffer the good and sincere among you to continue indiscriminately mixed with the wicked and hypocritical.

“ * God leaveth the believers in the state which they now are, only till he shall have discriminated the wicked from the righteous.”—*Savary*.

^b This passage was revealed on the rebellious and disobedient Mohammedans telling Mohammed, that if he was a true prophet, he could easily distinguish those who sincerely believed from the dissemblers¹.

^c Mohammed is said to have declared, that whoever pays not his legal contribution of alms duly shall have a serpent twisted about his neck at the resurrection².

^d It is related that Mohammed, writing to the Jews of the tribe of Kainokâ to invite them to Islâm, and exhorting them, among other things, in the words of the Korân 3, *to lend unto God on good usury*, Phineas Ebn Azûra, on hearing that expression, said, *Surely God is poor, since they ask to borrow for him*. Whereupon Abu Becr, who was the bearer of that letter, struck him on the face, and told him, that if it had not been for the truce between them he would have struck off his head : and on Phineas's complaining to Mohammed of Abu Becr's ill usage, this passage was revealed⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

³ Chap. 2. p. 42.

⁴ Al

of burning. *This shall they suffer for the evil which their hands have sent before them, and because GOD is not unjust towards mankind; who also say, Surely GOD hath commanded us, that we should not give credit to any apostle, until one should come unto us with a sacrifice, which should be consumed by fire^a. Say, Apostles have already come unto you before me^b, with plain proofs, and with the miracle which ye mention: why therefore have ye slain them, if ye speak truth? If they accuse thee of imposture, the apostles before thee have also been accounted impostors, who brought evident demonstrations, and the scriptures, and the book which enlighteneth the understanding. Every soul shall taste of death, and ye shall have your rewards on the day of resurrection; and he who shall be far removed from hell fire, and shall be admitted into paradise, shall be happy: but the present life is only a deceitful provision^{*}. Ye shall surely be proved in your possessions, and in your persons; and ye shall hear from those unto whom the scripture was delivered before you, and from the idolaters, much hurt: but if*

^a The Jews, say the commentators, insisted that it was a peculiar proof of the mission of all the prophets sent to them, that they could, by their prayers, bring down fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice, and therefore they expected Mohammed should do the like. And some Mohammedan doctors agree that God appointed this miracle as the test of all their prophets, except only Jesus and Mohammed¹; though others say any other miracle was a proof full as sufficient as the bringing down fire from heaven².

The Arabian Jews seem to have drawn a general consequence from some particular instances of this miracle in the old Testament³. And the Jews at this day say, that first the fire which fell from heaven on the altar of the tabernacle⁴, after the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and afterwards that which descended on the altar of Solomon's temple, at the dedication of that structure⁵, was fed and constantly maintained there by the priests, both day and night, without being suffered once to go out; till it was extinguished, as some think, in the reign of Manasses⁶, but according to the more received opinion, when the temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans. Several Christians⁷ have given credit to this assertion of the Jews, with what reason I shall not here inquire; and the Jews, in consequence of this notion might probably expect, that a prophet who came to restore God's true religion should rekindle for them this heavenly fire, which they have not been favoured with since the Babylonish captivity.

^b Among these the commentators reckon Zacharias and John the Baptist.

^{*} "Human life is no more than a deceitful enjoyment."—*Savary*.

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Lev. ix. 24.

⁴ 1 Chron. xxi. 26.

⁵ 2 Chron. vii. 1. 1 Kings xviii. 38.

⁶ Levit. ix. 24.

⁷ 2 Chron. vii. 1.

⁸ Talmud, Zebachim, c. 6.

⁹ See Prideaux's Connect. part 1. book 3. p. 158.

ye be patient, and fear *God*, this is a matter that is absolutely determined. And when GOD accepted the covenant of those to whom the book of the law was given, *saying*, Ye shall surely publish it unto mankind, ye shall not hide it: yet they threw it behind their backs, and sold it for a small price; but woful *is the price* for which they have sold it^a. Think not that they who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praised for what they have not done^b; think not, *O prophet*, that they shall escape from punishment, for they shall suffer a painful punishment; and unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: GOD is almighty. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, are signs unto those who are endued with understanding; who remember GOD standing, and sitting, and *lying* on their sides^c; and meditate on the creation of heaven and earth, *saying*, O LORD, thou hast not created this in vain; far be it from thee: therefore deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire: O LORD, surely whom thou shalt throw into the fire, thou wilt also cover with shame: nor shall the ungodly have any to help them. O LORD, we have heard a preacher^d inviting *us* to the faith, *and saying*, Believe in your LORD: and we believed. O LORD, forgive us therefore our sins, and expiate our evil deeds from us, and make us to die with the righteous. O LORD, give us

^a i. e. Dearly shall they pay hereafter for taking bribes to stifle the truth. *Whoever concealeth the knowledge which God has given him*, says Mohammed, *God shall put on him a bridle of fire on the day of resurrection.*

^b i. e. Who think they have done a commendable deed in concealing and dissembling the testimonies in the Pentateuch concerning Mohammed, and in disobeying God's commands to the contrary. It is said that Mohammed once asking some Jews concerning a passage in their law, they gave him an answer very different from the truth, and were mightily pleased that they had, as they thought, deceived him. Others however think this passage relates to some pretended Mohammedans who rejoiced in their hypocrisy, and expected to be commended for their wickedness¹.

^c viz. At all times and in all postures. Al Beidâwi mentions a saying of Mohammed to one Imrân Ebn Hosein, to this purpose; *pray standing, if thou art able; if not, sitting; and if thou canst not sit up, then as thou liest along.* Al Shâfeî directs that the sick should pray lying on their right side.

^d Namely Mohammed, with the Korân.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

also *the reward* which thou hast promised by thy apostles; and cover us not with shame on the day of resurrection; for thou art not contrary to the promise*. Their LORD therefore answereth them, *saying*, I will not suffer the work of him among you who worketh to be lost, whether he be male, or female^a: the one of you is from the other. They therefore who have left their country, and have been turned out of their houses, and have suffered for my sake, and have been slain in battle; verily I will expiate their evil deeds from them, and I will surely bring them into gardens watered by rivers; a reward from GOD: and with GOD is the most excellent reward. Let not the prosperous dealing of the unbelievers in the land deceive thee^b: *it is but a slender provision*^c; *and then their receptacle shall be hell*; an unhappy couch *shall it be*. But they who fear their LORD shall have gardens through which rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever: this is the gift of GOD[†]; for what is with GOD shall be better for the righteous *than short-lived worldly prosperity*. There are some of those who have received the scriptures, who believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto you, and that which hath been sent down to them, submitting themselves unto GOD^d; they sell not the signs of GOD for a small

* "Since thou failest not in thy promises."—*Savary*.

^a These words were added, as some relate, on Omm Salma, one of the prophet's wives, telling him that she had observed God often made mention of the *men* who fled their country for the sake of their faith, but took no notice of the *women*¹.

^b The original word properly signifies success in the affairs of life, and particularly in trade. It is said that some of Mohammed's followers observing the prosperity the idolaters enjoyed, expressed their regret that those enemies of God should live in such ease and plenty, while themselves were perishing for hunger and fatigue; whereupon this passage was revealed².

^c Because of its short continuance.

[†] "They who fear the Lord shall dwell in the gardens of delights. They shall dwell in them eternally. They shall be the guests of the Lord. Who is more able than he to load with favours the just?"—*Savary*.

^d The persons here meant, some will have to be Abdallah Ebn Salâm³ and his companions; others suppose they were forty Arabs of Najrân, or thirty-two Ethiopians, or else eight Greeks, who were converted from Christianity to Mohammedism; and others say this passage was revealed in the ninth year of the Hejra, when Mohammed, on Gabriel's bringing him the news of the death of Ashama king of

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ See before, p. 64.

price: these shall have their reward with their LORD; for GOD is swift in taking an account^a. O true believers, be patient, and strive to excel in patience, and be constant-minded, and fear GOD, that ye may be happy.

CHAPTER IV.

Intitled, Women^b; revealed at Medina.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

O MEN, fear your LORD, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied many men, and women*: and fear GOD by whom ye beseech one another^c; and *respect women^d who have borne you*, for GOD is watching over you. And give the orphans *when they come to age* their substance; and render *them* not in exchange bad for good^e: and devour not their substance, *by adding it* to your own substance; for this is a great sin. And if ye fear that ye shall not act

Ethiopia, who had embraced the Mohammedan religion some years before¹, prayed for the soul of the departed; at which some of his hypocritical followers were displeased, and wondered that he should pray for a Christian proselyte whom he had never seen².

^a See before, p. 34, and the Preliminary Discourse, § 4.

^b This title was given to this chapter, because it chiefly treats of matters relating to women; as, marriages, divorces, dower, prohibited degrees, &c.

* Mortals! fear the Lord, who created you all from one man, of whom he formed a woman, and who has covered the earth with their posterity. Fear the Lord, in the name of whom ye beseech each other. Revere the ties of consanguinity. God observeth your actions."—*Savary*.

^c Saying, I beseech thee for God's sake³.

^d Literally, *the wombs*.

^e That is, take not what ye find of value among their effects to your own use, and give them worse in its stead.

¹ See the Prelim. Discourse, p. 61.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Idem.

with equity towards orphans *of the female sex* *, take in marriage of such *other* women as please you, two, or three, or four, *and not more* ^a. But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably towards *so many*, marry one *only*, or the slaves which ye shall have acquired ^b. This will be easier, that ye swerve not *from righteousness*. And give women their dowry freely; but if they voluntarily remit unto you any part of it, enjoy it with satisfaction and advantage. And give not unto those who are weak of understanding the substance which GOD hath appointed you to preserve *for them*; but maintain them thereout, and clothe them, and speak kindly unto them. And examine the orphans ^c until they attain *the age of marriage* ^d: but if ye perceive they are able to manage their affairs well, deliver their substance unto them; and waste it not extravagantly,

* “If ye fear to be unjust unto orphans, fear also to be unjust unto your wives. Marry only two, three, or four ¹.”—*Savary*.

^a The commentators understand this passage differently. The true meaning seems to be, as it is here translated; Mohammed advising his followers that if they found they should wrong the female orphans under their care, either by marrying them against their inclinations, for the sake of their riches or beauty, or by not using or maintaining them so well as they ought, by reason of their having already several wives, they should rather choose to marry other women, to avoid all occasion of sin ². Others say that when this passage was revealed, many of the Arabians, fearing trouble and temptation, refused to take upon them the charge of orphans, and yet multiplied wives to a great excess, and used them ill; or, as others write, gave themselves up to fornication; which occasioned the passage. And according to these its meaning must be either, that if they feared they could not act justly towards orphans, they had as great reason to apprehend they could not deal equitably with so many wives, and therefore are commanded to marry but a certain number; or else, that since fornication was a crime as well as a wronging of orphans, they ought to avoid that also, by marrying according to their abilities ³.

^b For slaves requiring not so large a dower, nor so good and plentiful a maintenance as free women, a man might keep several of the former, as easily as one of the latter.

^c *i. e.* Try whether they be well-grounded in the principles of religion, and have sufficient prudence for the management of their affairs. Under this expression is also comprehended the duty of a curator's instructing his pupils in those respects.

^d Or age of maturity, which is generally reckoned to be fifteen; a decision supported by a tradition of their prophet; though Abu Hanifah thinks eighteen the proper age ⁴.

¹ When this verse was sent down from heaven, the greatest part of the Arabs had each of them eight or ten wives; and they often treated them badly. Polygamy has always been established in the East. Mahomet restrained it within narrower bounds.”—*Savary*.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Idem, Jallâl'oddin.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

or hastily *, because they grow up ^a. Let him who is rich abstain *entirely from the orphans' estates*; and let him who is poor take *thereof* according to what shall be reasonable ^b. And when ye deliver their substance unto them, call witnesses *thereof* in their presence: GOD taketh sufficient account of *your actions*. Men ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave *behind them when they die*: and women also ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave ^c; whether it be little, or whether it be much; a determinate part *is due to them*. And when they who are of kin are present at the dividing of *what is left*, and also the orphans, and the poor; distribute unto them *some part* thereof; and *if the estate be too small, at least* speak comfortably unto them. And let those fear to *abuse orphans*, who if they leave behind them a weak offspring, are solicitous for them: let them therefore fear GOD, and speak that which is convenient ^d. Surely they who devour the possessions of orphans unjustly shall swallow down nothing but fire into their bellies, and shall broil in raging flames. GOD hath *thus* commanded you concerning your children. A male shall have as much as the share of two females ^e; but if they be females *only, and above two in number*, they shall have two-third parts of what *the deceased* shall leave ^f; and if there be *but one*, she shall have the half ^g. And the parents of *the deceased*

are of dissipating it by prodigality, or by hastening to entrust them with it, when they are too young."—*Savary*.

^a c. Because they will shortly be of age, to receive what belongs to them.

^b That is, no more than what shall make sufficient recompense for the trouble of their education.

^c This law was given to abolish a custom of the pagan Arabs, who suffered not women or children to have any part of their husband's or father's inheritance; on pretence that they only should inherit who were able to go to war ¹.

^d i. e. To comfort the children, or to assure the dying father they shall be justly dealt by ².

^e This is the general rule to be followed in the distribution of the estate of the deceased, as may be observed in the following cases ³.

^f Or if there be *but one* and no more they will have the same share.

^g And the remaining third part, or the remaining moiety of the estate, which is

shall have each of them a sixth part of what he shall leave, if he have a child: but if he have no child, and his parents be his heirs, then his mother shall have the third part^a. And if he have brethren, his mother shall have a sixth part, after the legacies^b which he shall bequeath, and his debts *be paid*. Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater use unto you. *This is* an ordinance from GOD, and GOD is knowing and wise. Moreover ye may claim half of what your wives shall leave, if they have no issue; but if they have issue, then ye shall have the fourth part of what they shall leave, after the legacies which they shall bequeath, and the debts *be paid*. They also shall have the fourth part of what ye shall leave, in case ye have no issue; but if ye have issue, then they shall have the eighth part of what ye shall leave, after the legacies which ye shall bequeath, and your debts *be paid*. And if a man or woman's *substance* be inherited by a distant relation^c, and he *or she* have a brother or sister; each of them two shall have a sixth part of the *estate*^d. But if there be more than this *number*, they shall be *equal* sharers in a third part, after *payment of* the legacies which shall be bequeathed, and the debts, without prejudice to the *heirs*. *This is* an ordinance from GOD: and GOD is knowing and gracious. These are the statutes of GOD. And

not here expressly disposed of, if the deceased leaves behind him no son, nor a father, goes to the public treasury. It must be observed that Mr. Selden is certainly mistaken, when in explaining this passage of the Korân, he says, that where there is a son and an only daughter, each of them will have a moiety¹: for the daughter can have a moiety but in one case only, that is, where there is no son; for if there be a son, she can have but a third, according to the abovementioned rule.

^a And his father consequently the other two-thirds².

^b By *legacies* in this and the following passages are chiefly meant those bequeathed to pious uses; for the Mohammedans approve not of a person's giving away his substance from his family and near relations on any other account.

^c For this may happen by contract, or on some other special occasion.

^d Here, and in the next case, the brother and sister are made equal sharers, which is an exception to the general rule, of giving a male twice as much as a female; and the reason is said to be, because of the smallness of the portions, which deserve not such exactness of distribution; for in other cases the rule holds between brother and sister, as well as other relations³.

¹ Selden, de Success. ad Leges Ebraeor. l. 1. c. 1.
this chap. near the end.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ See

whoso obeyeth GOD and his apostle, *God* shall lead him into gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever ; and this shall be great happiness. But whoso disobeyeth GOD, and his apostle, and transgresseth his statutes, *God* shall cast him into *hell* fire ; he shall remain therein for ever, and he shall suffer a shameful punishment. If any of your women be guilty of whoredom^a, produce four witnesses from among you against them, and if they bear witness *against them*, imprison them in *separate* apartments until death release them, or GOD affordeth them a way to escape^b. And if two of you commit the like *wickedness*^c, punish them both^d : but if they repent and amend, let them both alone ; for GOD is easy to be reconciled and merciful. Verily repentance *will be accepted* with GOD, from those who do evil ignorantly, and then repent speedily ; unto them will GOD be turned : for GOD is knowing and wise. But no repentance *shall be accepted* from those who do evil until *the time* when death presenteth itself unto one of them, *and he* saith, Verily I repent now ; nor unto those who die unbelievers : for them have we prepared a grievous punishment. O true believers, it is not lawful for you to be heirs of women against their will^e, nor to hinder them *from marrying*

^a Either adultery or fornication.

^b Their punishment in the beginning of Mohammedism was to be immured till they died, but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and they might avoid it by undergoing the punishment ordained in its stead by the Sonna ; according to which the maidens are to be scourged with a hundred stripes, and to be banished for a full year ; and the married women to be stoned¹.

^c The commentators are not agreed whether the text speaks of fornication or sodomy. Al Zamakhshari, and, from him, al Beidawi supposes the former is here meant : but Jallalo'ddin is of opinion that the crime intended in this passage must be committed between two men, and not between a man and a woman ; not only because the pronouns are in the masculine gender, but because both are ordered to suffer the same slight punishment, and are both allowed the same repentance and indulgence ; and especially for that a different and much severer punishment is appointed for the women in the preceding words. Abu'l Kâsem Hebatallah takes simple fornication to be the crime intended, and that this passage is abrogated by that of the 24th chapter, where the man and the woman who shall be guilty of fornication are ordered to be scourged with a hundred stripes each.

^d The original is, *Do them some hurt or damage* : by which some understand that they are only to reproach them in public², or strike them on the head with their slippers³, (a great indignity in the east ;) though some imagine they may be scourged⁴.

^e It was customary among the pagan Arabs, when a man died, for one of his re-

¹ Jallalo'ddin.

² Ibid, Yahya, Abul Kasem, Hebatallah, Al Beidawi.

³ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi.

⁴ Al Beidawi.

others^a, that ye may take away part of what ye have given them *in dowry*; unless they have been guilty of a manifest crime^b: but converse kindly with them. And if ye hate them, it may happen that ye may hate a thing wherein GOD hath placed much good. If ye be desirous to exchange a wife for *another* wife^c, and ye have already given one of them a talent^d: take not away any thing therefrom^e: will ye take it by *slandering her*, and *doing her* manifest injustice? And how can ye take it, since the one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a firm covenant? Marry not women, whom your fathers have had to wife; (except what is already past :) for this is uncleanness, and an abomination, and an evil way. Ye are forbidden *to marry* your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts both on the father's and on the mother's side, and your brothers' daughters, and your sisters' daughters, and your mothers who have given you suck, and your foster-sisters, and your wives' mothers, and your daughters-in-law which are under your tuition, *born* of your wives unto whom ye have gone in, (but if ye have not gone in unto them, it shall be no sin in you *to marry them*;) and the wives of your sons who *proceed* out of your loins; and *ye are also forbidden* to take to wife two sisters^f, except what is already past : for GOD is gracious and merciful. * *Ye are also forbidden to take* V. *to wife* free women *who are married*, except

lations to claim a right to his widow, which he asserted by throwing his garment over her : and then he either married her himself, if he thought fit, on assigning her the same dower that her former husband had done, or kept her dower and married her to another, or else refused to let her marry unless she redeemed herself by quitting what she might claim of her husband's goods¹. This unjust custom is abolished by this passage.

^a Some say these words are directed to husbands who used to imprison their wives without any just cause, and out of covetousness, merely to make them relinquish their dower or their inheritance².

^b Such as disobedience, ill-behaviour, immodesty, and the like³.

^c That is, by divorcing one, and marrying another.

^d *i. e.* Ever so large a dower.

^e See chap. 2, p. 38, 39.

^f The same was also prohibited by the Levitical law⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

⁴ Levit. xviii. 18.

those *women* whom your right hands shall possess *as slaves*^a. *This is* ordained you from GOD. Whatever is beside this, is allowed you; that ye may with your substance provide *wives* for yourselves, acting that which is right, and avoiding whoredom. And for the advantage which ye receive from them, give them their reward^b, according to what is ordained: but it shall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourselves^c, after the ordinance *shall be complied with*; for GOD is knowing and wise. Whoso among you hath not means sufficient that he may marry free women, who are believers, *let him marry* with such of your maid-servants whom your right hands possess, as are true believers; for GOD well knoweth your faith. Ye are the one from the other^d: therefore marry them with the consent of their masters; and give them their dower according to justice; *such as are* modest, not guilty of whoredom, nor entertaining lovers. And when they are married, if they be guilty of adultery, they shall suffer half the punishment which *is appointed* for the free women^e. *This is allowed* unto him among you, who feareth to sin *by marrying free women*; but if ye abstain *from marrying slaves*, *it will be* better for you; GOD is gracious and merciful. GOD is willing to declare *these things* unto you, and to direct you according to the ordinances of those who *have gone* before you^f, and to be merciful unto you. GOD is knowing and wise. GOD desireth to be

^a According to this passage it is not lawful to marry a free woman that is already married, be she a Mohammedan or not, unless she be legally parted from her husband by divorce; but it is lawful to marry those who are slaves, or taken in war, after they shall have gone through the proper purifications, though their husbands be living. Yet, according to the decision of Abu Hanîfah, it is not lawful to marry such whose husbands shall be taken, or in actual slavery with them¹.

^b That is, assign them their dower.

^c That is, either to increase the dower, or to abate some part or even the whole of it.

^d Being alike descended from Adam, and of the same faith².

^e The reason of this is because they are not presumed to have had so good education. A slave therefore, in such a case, is to have fifty stripes, and to be banished for half a year; but she shall not be stoned, because it is a punishment which cannot be inflicted by halves³.

^f *viz.* Of the prophets, and other holy and prudent men of former ages⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

⁴ Jallalo'ddin. At Beidâwi.

gracious unto you ; but they who follow *their* lusts^a desire that ye should turn aside *from the truth* with great deviation. GOD is minded to make *his religion* light unto you : for man was created weak^b. O true believers, consume not your wealth among yourselves in vanity^c ; unless there be merchandizing among you by mutual consent : neither slay yourselves^d ; for GOD is merciful towards you : and whoever doth this maliciously^e and wickedly, he will surely cast him to be broiled in *hell* fire ; and this is easy with GOD. If ye turn aside from the grievous sins^f, of those which ye are forbidden *to commit*, we will cleanse you from your *smaller* faults ; and will introduce you *into paradise* with an honourable entry. Covet not that which GOD hath bestowed on some of you preferably to others^g. Unto the men *shall be given* a portion, of what they shall have gained, and unto the women *shall be given* a portion, of what they shall have gained^h : therefore

* Some commentators suppose that these words have a particular regard to the Magians, who formerly were frequently guilty of incestuous marriages, their prophet Zerdusht having allowed them to take their mothers and sisters to wife ; and also to the Jews, who likewise might marry within some of the degrees here prohibited¹.

^b Being unable to refrain from women, and too subject to be led away by carnal appetites².

^c That is, employ it not in things prohibited by God ; such as usury, extortion, rapine, gaming, and the like³.

^d Literally, *slay not your souls* ; i. e. says Jallalo'ddin, by committing mortal sins, or such crimes as will destroy them. Others however are of opinion that self-murder, which the gentile Indians did, and still do, often practise in honour of their idols, or else the taking away the life of any true believer, is hereby forbidden⁴.

^e See Wisdom, xvi. 14, in the vulgate.

^f These sins al Beidâwi, from a tradition of Mohammed, reckons to be seven (equalling in number the sins called deadly by Christians), that is to say, idolatry, murder, falsely accusing modest women of adultery, wasting the substance of orphans, taking of usury, desertion in a religious expedition, and disobedience to parents. But Ebn Abbâs says they amount to near seven hundred ; and others suppose that idolatry only, of different kinds, in worshipping idols or any creature, either in opposition to, or jointly with the true God, is here intended ; that sin being generally esteemed by Mohammedans, and in a few lines after declared by the Korân itself, to be the only one which God will not pardon⁵.

^g Such as honour, power, riches, and other worldly advantages. Some however understand this of the distribution of inheritances according to the preceding determinations, whereby some have a larger share than others⁶.

^h That is, they shall be blessed according to their deserts ; and ought therefore, instead of displeasing God by envying of others, to endeavour to merit his favour by good works, and to apply to him by prayer.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

³ Idem.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

⁵ Idem. See before, chap. 2, p. 15.

⁶ Idem ; Jallalo'ddin.

ask GOD of his bounty : for GOD is omniscient. We have appointed unto every one kindred, *to inherit part* of what their parents and relations shall leave *at their deaths*. And unto those with whom your right hands have made an alliance, give their part *of the inheritance*^a; for GOD is witness of all things. Men shall have the pre-eminence above women, because of those *advantages* wherein GOD hath caused the one of them to excel the other^b, and for that which they expend of their substance *in maintaining their wives*. The honest women *are* obedient, careful in the absence of *their husbands*^c, for that GOD preserveth *them, by committing them to the care and protection of the men**. But those, whose perverseness ye shall be apprehensive of, rebuke; and remove them into separate apartments^d, and chastise them^e. But if they shall be obedient unto you, seek not an occasion of *quarrel* against them : for GOD is high and great. And if ye fear a breach between the *husband and wife*, send a judge^f out of his family, and a judge out of her family : if they shall desire a reconciliation, GOD will cause them to agree; for GOD is knowing and wise. Serve GOD, and associate no creature with him; and *show* kindness unto parents, and relations, and orphans, and the poor,

^a A precept conformable to an old custom of the Arabs, that where persons mutually entered into a strict friendship or confederacy, the surviving friend should have a sixth part of the deceased's estate. But this was afterwards abrogated, according to Jallalo'ddin and al Zamakhshari, at least as to infidels. The passage may likewise be understood of a private contract, whereby the survivor is to inherit a certain part of the substance of him that dies first¹.

^b Such as superior understanding and strength, and the other privileges of the male sex, which enjoys the dignities in church and state, goes to war in defence of God's true religion, and claims a double share of their deceased ancestors' estates².

^c Both to preserve their husbands' substance from loss or waste, and themselves from all degrees of immodesty³.

* "Wives ought to be obedient, and keep the secrets of their husbands, because that Heaven hath entrusted them to their care."—*Savary*.

^d That is, banish them from your bed.

^e By this passage the Mohammedans are in plain terms allowed to beat their wives, in case of stubborn disobedience; but not in a violent or dangerous manner⁴.

^f *i. e.* Let the magistrate first send two arbitrators or mediators, one on each side, to compose the difference, and prevent, if possible, the ill consequences of an open rupture.

¹ V. Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

and *your* neighbour who is of kin to you^a, and also *your* neighbour who is a stranger, and to *your* familiar companion, and the traveller, and *the captives* whom your right hands shall possess; for GOD loveth not the proud or vain glorious, who are covetous, and recommend covetousness unto men, and conceal that which GOD of his bounty hath given them^b; (we have prepared a shameful punishment for the unbelievers;) and who bestow their wealth *in charity* to be observed of men, and believe not in GOD, nor in the last day; and whoever hath Satan for a companion, an evil companion *hath he!* And what *harm would befall* them if they should believe in GOD, and the last day, and give alms out of that which GOD hath bestowed on them? since GOD knoweth them *who do this*. Verily GOD will not wrong *any one even* the weight of an ant^c: and if it be a good action, he will double it, and will recompense *it* in his sight with a great reward. How *will it be with the unbelievers* when we shall bring a witness out of each nation *against itself*^d, and shall bring thee, O Mohammed, a witness against these *people*^e? In that day they who have not believed, and have rebelled against the apostle of God, shall wish the earth was levelled with them^{*}; and they shall not *be able to* hide any matter from GOD. O true believers, come not to prayers when ye are drunk^f, until ye understand what ye say; nor when

^a Either of your own nation or religion.

^b Whether it be wealth, knowledge, or any other talent whereby they may help their neighbour.

^c Either by diminishing the recompense due to his good actions, or too severely punishing his sins. On the contrary, he will reward the former in the next life, far above their deserts. The Arabic word *áharra*, which is translated *an ant*, signifies a very small sort of that insect, and is used to denote a thing that is exceeding small, as a *mite*.

^d When the prophet, who was sent to each nation in particular, shall on the last day be produced to give evidence against such of them as refused to believe in him, or observed not the laws which he brought.

^e That is, the Arabians, to whom Mohammed was, as he pretended, more peculiarly sent¹.

^{*} "In that terrible day they shall wish to be reduced unto dust."—*Savary*.

^f It is related, that before the prohibition of wine, Abd'alrahmán Ebn Awf made an entertainment, to which he invited several of the apostle's companions; and after

¹ See before, c. 2, p. 25.

ye are polluted by emission of seed, unless ye be travelling on the road, until ye wash yourselves. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you come from easing nature, or have touched women, and find no water; take fine clean sand and rub your faces and your hands *therewith*^a; for GOD is merciful and inclined to forgive. Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the scripture^b was delivered? they sell error, and desire that ye may wander from the *right* way; but GOD well knoweth your enemies. GOD is a sufficient patron, and GOD is a sufficient helper. Of the Jews there are some who pervert words from their places^c; and say, We have heard, and have disobeyed; and do thou hear without understanding *our meaning*^d, and look upon us^e: perplexing with their tongues, and reviling the *true* religion. But if they had said, We have heard, and do obey; and do thou hear, and regard us^f; certainly it were better for them, and more right. But GOD hath cursed them by reason of their infidelity: therefore a few *of them* only shall believe. O *ye* to whom the scriptures have been given, believe in the *revelation* which we have sent down, confirming that which is with you; before we deface *your* countenances, and render them as the back parts thereof^g; or curse them, as we cursed those who transgressed on

they had eaten and drank plentifully, the hour of evening prayer being come, one of the company rose up to pray, but being overcome with liquor, made a shameful blunder in reciting a passage of the Korân; whereupon to prevent the danger of any such indecency for the future, this passage was revealed¹.

^a See the Prelim. Disc. § IV.

^b Meaning the Jews, and particularly their Rabbins.

^c That is, (according to the commentators,) who change the true sense of the Pentateuch by dislocating passages, or by wresting the words according to their own fancies and lusts². But Mohammed seems chiefly to intend here the Jews bantering of him in their addresses, by making use of equivocal words, seeming to bear a good sense in Arabic, but spoken by them in derision according to their acceptance in Hebrew; an instance of which he gives in the following words.

^d Literally, *without being made to hear*, or apprehend what we say.

^e The original word is *Râina*, which being a term of reproach in Hebrew, Mohammed forbade their using to him³.

^f In Arabic, *Ondhorna*; which having no ill equivocal meaning, the prophet ordered them to use instead of the former.

^g That is, perfectly plain, without eyes, nose, or mouth. The original however may also be translated, *and turn them behind*, by wringing their necks backward.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

³ See before, c. 2, p. 19.

the sabbath day^a; and the command of GOD was fulfilled. Surely GOD will not pardon the giving him an equal^b; but will pardon any other *sin*, except that, to whom he pleaseth^c: and whoso giveth a companion unto GOD, hath devised a great wickedness. Hast thou not observed those who justify themselves^d? But GOD justifieth whomsoever he pleaseth, nor shall *they* be wronged a hair^e. Behold, how they imagine a lie against GOD; and therein is iniquity sufficiently manifest. Hast thou not considered those to whom part of the scripture hath been given? They believe in false gods and idols^f, and say of those who believe not, These are more rightly directed in the way of *truth*, than they who believe on *Mohammed*. Those are the *men* whom *God* hath cursed; and unto him whom GOD shall curse, thou shalt surely find no helper. Shall they have a part of the kingdom^g*, since even then they would not bestow the smallest matter^h on

^a And were therefore changed into apes¹.

^b That is, idolatry of all kinds.

^c *viz.* To those who repent².

^d *i. e.* The Christians and Jews, who called themselves *the children of God*, and *his beloved people*³.

^e The original word signifies a little skin in the cleft of a date-stone, and is used to express a thing of no value.

^f The Arabic is, in Jibt and Taghût. The former is supposed to have been the proper name of some idol; but it seems rather to signify any false deity in general. The latter we have explained already⁴.

It is said that this passage was revealed on the following occasion. Hoyai Ebn Akhtab and Caab Ebn al Ashraf⁵, two chief men among the Jews, with several others of that religion, went to Mecca, and offered to enter into a confederacy with the Koreish, and to join their forces against Mohammed. But the Koreish, entertaining some jealousy of them, told them, that the Jews pretended to have a written revelation from heaven, as well as Mohammed, and their doctrines and worship approached much nearer to what he taught than the religion of their tribe; wherefore, said they, if you would satisfy us that you are sincere in the matter, do as we do, and worship our gods. Which proposal, if the story be true, these Jews complied with, out of their inveterate hatred to Mohammed⁶.

^g For the Jews gave out that they should be restored to their ancient power and grandeur⁷; depending, it is to be presumed, on the victorious Messiah whom they expected.

* "Shall they have a portion in the kingdom of heaven, they who would grudge a farthing bestowed on their fellow creatures?"—*Savary*.

^h The original word properly signifies a small dent on the back of a date-stone; and is commonly used to express a thing of little or no value.

¹ See before, c. 2, p. 2.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Idem, Jallalo'ddin. See c. 5, not

far from the beginning.

⁴ See p. 45, note a.

⁵ See before, p. 64, note c.

⁶ Al Beidâwi.

⁷ Idem.

men? Do they envy *other* men that which GOD of his bounty hath given them^a? We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a book of *revelations* and wisdom; and we gave them a great kingdom^b. There is of them who believeth on him^c; and there is of them who turneth aside from him: but the raging fire of hell is a sufficient *punishment*. Verily those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in *hell* fire; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the *sharper* torment; for GOD is mighty and wise. But those who believe and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers, therein shall they remain for ever, *and* there shall they enjoy wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual shades. Moreover GOD commandeth you to restore what ye are trusted with, to the owners^d: and when ye judge between men, that ye judge according to equity: and surely an excellent *virtue* it is to which GOD exhorteth you; for GOD *both* heareth and seeth. O true believers, obey GOD, and obey the apostle; and those who are in authority among you: and if ye differ in any thing, refer it unto GOD^e and the apostle, if ye believe in GOD, and the last day: this is better, and a fairer *method* of determination. Hast thou not observed those who pretend they believe in what hath been revealed unto thee, and

^a viz. The spiritual gifts of prophecy, and divine revelations; and the temporal blessings of victory and success, bestowed on Mohammed and his followers.

^b Wherefore God will doubtless show equal favour to this prophet, (a descendant also of Abraham,) and those who believe on him¹.

^c Namely, on Mohammed.

^d This passage, it is said, was revealed on the day of the taking of Mecca, the primary design of it being to direct Mohammed to return the keys of the Caaba to Othmân Ebn Telha Ebn Abdaldâr, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place², and not to deliver them to his uncle al Abbâs, who having already the custody of the well Zemzem, would fain have had also that of the Caaba. The prophet obeying the divine order, Othmân was so affected with the justice of the action, notwithstanding he had at first refused him entrance, that he immediately embraced Mohammedism; whereupon the guardianship of the Caaba was confirmed to this Othmân and his heirs for ever³.

^e i. e. To the decision of the Korân.

¹ Al Beidâwi. ² See Prideaux's *Life of Mahom.* p. 2. See D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 220, 221.

³ Al Beidâwi.

what hath been revealed before thee? They desire to go to judgment before Taghut^a, although they have been commanded not to believe in him; and Satan desireth to seduce them into a wide error. And when it is said unto them, Come unto *the book* which GOD hath sent down, and to the apostle; thou seest the ungodly turn aside from thee, with *great* aversion. But how *will they behave* when a misfortune shall befall them, for that which their hands have sent before them? Then will they come unto thee, and swear by GOD, *saying*, If we intended any other than to do good, and to reconcile *the parties*^b. GOD knoweth what is in the hearts of these *men*; therefore let them alone, and admonish them, and speak unto them a word which may affect their souls. We have not sent any apostle, but that he might be obeyed by the permission of GOD: but if they, after they have injured their own souls^c, come unto thee, and ask pardon of GOD, and the apostle ask pardon for them, they shall surely find GOD easy to be reconciled and merciful. And by thy LORD they will not *perfectly* believe, until they make thee judge of their controversies; and shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou shalt determine, but shall acquiesce *therein* with *entire* submission. And if we had com-

^a That is, before the tribunals of infidels. This passage was occasioned by the following remarkable accident. A certain Jew having a dispute with a wicked Mohammedan, the latter appealed to the judgment of Caab Ebn al Ashraf, a principal Jew, and the former to Mohammed. But at length they agreed to refer the matter to the prophet singly, who giving it in favour of the Jew, the Mohammedan refused to acquiesce in his sentence, but would needs have it re-heard by Omar, afterwards Khalif. When they came to him, the Jew told him that Mohammed had already decided the affair in his favour, but that the other would not submit to his determination; and the Mohammedan confessing this to be true, Omar bid them stay a little, and fetching his sword, struck off the obstinate Moslem's head, saying aloud, *This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of God and his apostle*. And from this action Omar had the surname of al Farûk, which alludes both to his *separating* that knave's head from his body, and to his *distinguishing* between truth and falsehood¹. The name of Taghut² therefore in this place seems to be given to Caab Ebn al Ashraf.

^b For this was the excuse of the friends of the Mohammedan whom Omar slew, when they came to demand satisfaction for his blood³.

^c *Viz.* By acting wickedly, and appealing to the judgment of infidels.

¹ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidâwi. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 688, and Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. v. i. p. 365. ² See before, p. 45. ³ Al Beidâwi.

manded them, *saying*, Slay yourselves, or depart from your houses^a; they would not have done it, except a few of them. And if they had done what they were admonished, it would certainly have been better for them, and more efficacious for confirming *their faith*; and we should then have surely given them in our sight an *exceeding* great reward, and we should have directed them in the right way. Whoever obeyeth GOD and the apostle, they *shall be* with those unto whom GOD hath been gracious, of the prophets, and the sincere, and the martyrs, and the righteous; and these are the most excellent company. This is bounty from GOD; and GOD is sufficiently knowing. O true believers, take your *necessary* precaution^b *against your enemies*, and *either* go forth *to war* in separate parties*, or go forth all together *in a body*. There is of you who tarrieth behind^c; and if a misfortune befall you, he saith, Verily GOD hath been gracious unto me, that I was not present with them: but if success attend you from GOD, he will say (as if there was no friendship between you and him^d), Would to GOD I had been with them, for I should have acquired great merit. Let them therefore fight for the religion of GOD, who part with the present life in exchange for that which is to come^e; for whosoever fighteth for the religion of GOD, whether he be slain, or be victorious^f, we will surely give him a great reward. And what ails you,

^a Some understand these words of their venturing their lives in a religious expedition; and others, of their undergoing the same punishments which the Israelites did, for their idolatry in worshipping the golden calf¹.

^b *i. e.* Be vigilant, and provide yourselves with arms and necessaries.

* "O believers, be prudent in battle, whether you attack separately, or in a body."—*Savary*.

^c Mohammed here upbraids the hypocritical Moslems, who for want of faith and constancy in their religion were backward in going to war for its defence.

^d *i. e.* As one who attendeth not to the public, but his own private interest. Or else these may be the words of the hypocritical Mohammedan himself, insinuating that he staid not behind the rest of the army by his own fault, but was left by Mohammed, who chose to let the others share in his good fortune, preferably to him².

^e By venturing their lives and fortunes in defence of the faith.

^f For no man ought to quit the field, till he either fall a martyr, or gain some advantage for the cause³.

¹ Al Eidâwi. See before, p. 9.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Idem.

that ye fight not for GOD's true religion, and *in defence* of the weak among men, women, and children^a, who say, O LORD, bring us forth from this city, whose inhabitants are wicked; grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from before thee a defender^b. They who believe fight for the religion of GOD; but they who believe not fight for the religion of Taghut^c. Fight therefore against the friends of Satan, for the stratagem of Satan is weak. Hast thou not observed those unto whom it was said, Withhold your hands *from war*, and be constant at prayers, and pay the legal alms^d? But when war is commanded them, behold, a part of them fear men as they should fear GOD, or with a greater fear, and say, O LORD, wherefore hast thou commanded us to go to war, and hast not suffered us to wait *our* approaching end^e? Say *unto them*, The provision of this life is *but* small; but the future *shall be* better for him who feareth God^{*}; and ye shall not be in the least injured *at the day of judgment*. Wheresoever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good befall them, they say, This is from GOD; but if evil befall them, they say, This is from thee, O Mohammed^f: say, All is from GOD; and what aileth these people, that they are so far from understanding what is said *unto them*?

^a viz. Those believers who staid behind at Mecca, being detained there either forcibly by the idolaters, or for want of means to fly for refuge to Medina. Al Beidâwi observes, that *children* are mentioned here to show the inhumanity of the Koreish, who persecuted even that tender age.

^b This petition, the commentators say, was heard. For God afforded several of them an opportunity and means of escaping, and delivered the rest at the taking of Mecca by Mohammed, who left Otâb Ebn Osaïd governor of the city: and under his care and protection those who had suffered for their religion became the most considerable men in the place.

^c See before, p. 45.

^d These were some of Mohammed's followers, who readily performed the duties of their religion, so long as they were commanded nothing that might endanger their lives.

* That is, a natural death.

^e "Say unto them, The enjoyments of this world are transient; the future life is the real treasure for those who fear God."—*Savary*.

^f As the Jews in particular, who pretended that their land was grown barren, and provisions scarce, since Mohammed came to Medina¹.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

Whatever good befall thee, *O man*, it is from GOD; and whatever evil befall thee, it is from thyself^a. We have sent thee an apostle unto men, and GOD is a sufficient witness *thereof*. Whoever obeyeth the apostle, obeyeth GOD; and whoever turneth back, we have not sent thee *to be* a keeper over them^b. They say, Obedience: yet when they go forth from thee, part of them meditate by night *a matter* different from what thou speakest; but GOD shall write down what they meditate by night: therefore let them alone, and trust in GOD, for GOD is a sufficient protector. Do they not attentively consider the Korân? if it had been from any besides GOD, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions. When any news cometh unto them, either of security or fear, they *immediately* divulge it; but if they told it to the apostle and to those who are in authority among them, such of them would understand *the truth of* the matter, as inform themselves thereof *from the apostle and his chiefs*. And if the favour of GOD and his mercy *had not been* upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few of you^c. Fight therefore for the religion of GOD, and oblige not any to what is difficult^d, except thyself; however excite the faithful *to war*, perhaps GOD will restrain the courage of the unbelievers; for GOD is

^a These words are not to be understood as contradictory to the preceding, *That all proceeds from God*; since the evil which befalls mankind, though ordered by God, is yet the consequence of their own wicked actions.

^b Or, to take an account of their actions; for this is God's part.

^c That is, if God had not sent his apostle with the Korân to instruct you in your duty, ye had continued in idolatry and been doomed to destruction; except only those who, by God's favour, and their superior understanding, should have true notions of the divinity; such, for example, as Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nofail¹, and Waraka Ebn Nawfal², who left idols, and acknowledged but one God, before the mission of Mohammed³.

^d It is said this passage was revealed when the Mohammedans refused to follow their prophet to the lesser expedition of Bedr, so that he was obliged to set out with no more than seventy⁴. Some copies vary in this place, and instead of *la tokallafo*, in the second person singular, read *la nokallafo*, in the first person plural, *We do not oblige, &c.* The meaning being, that the prophet only was under an indispensable necessity of obeying God's commands, however difficult, but others might choose, though at their peril.

¹ V. Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moh. p. 311.
Disc. p. 59.

³ Al Beidâwi.

² See the Prelim.
⁴ See before, ch. 3. p. 78.

stronger *than they*, and more able to punish. He who intercedeth *between men* with a good intercession^a shall have a portion thereof; and he who intercedeth with an evil intercession shall have a portion thereof; for GOD overlooketh all things. When ye are saluted with a salutation, salute *the person* with a better salutation^b, or *at least* return the same; for GOD taketh an account of all things. GOD! there is no GOD but he; he will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it: and who is more true than GOD in what he saith? Why are ye *divided* concerning the ungodly into two parties^c; since God hath overturned them for what they have committed? Will ye direct him whom GOD hath led astray; since for him whom GOD shall lead astray, thou shalt find no *true* path? They desire that ye should become infidels, as they are infidels, and that ye should be equally *wicked with themselves*. Therefore take not friends from among them, until they fly *their country* for the religion of GOD; and if they turn back *from the faith*, take them, and kill them wherever ye find them; and take no friend from among them, nor any helper, except those who go unto a people who are in alliance with you^d, or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against you, or to fight against their own people^e. And if GOD pleased he would have permitted them to have prevailed against

^a *i. e.* To maintain the right of a believer, or to prevent his being wronged.

^b By adding something farther. As when one salutes another by this form, *Peace be upon thee*, he ought not only to return the salutation, but to add, *and the mercy of God, and his blessing*.

^c This passage was revealed, according to some, when certain of Mohammed's followers, pretending not to like Medina, desired leave to go elsewhere, and having obtained it, went farther and farther, till they joined the idolaters; or, as others say, on occasion of some deserters at the battle of Ohod; concerning whom the Moslems were divided in opinion whether they should be slain as infidels, or not.

^d The people here meant, say some, were the tribe of Khozâah, or, according to others, the Aslamians, whose chief, named Helâl Ebn Owaimar, agreed with Mohammed, when he set out against Mecca, to stand neuter; or, as others rather think, Banu Beér Ebn Zeid¹.

^e These, it is said, were the tribe of Modlaj, who came in to Mohammed, but would not be obliged to assist him in war.

¹ Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin.

you, and they would have fought against you. But if they depart from you, and fight not against you, and offer you peace, GOD doth not allow you *to take or kill* them. Ye shall find others who are desirous to enter into a confidence with you^{*}, and *at the same time* to preserve a confidence with their own people^a: so often as they return to sedition, they shall be subverted therein; and if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and restrain their hands *from warring against you*, take them and kill them wheresoever ye find them; over these have we granted you a manifest power. It is not *lawful* for a believer to kill a believer, unless *it happen* by mistake^b; and whoso killeth a believer by mistake, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer from slavery, and a fine to be paid to the family of *the deceased*^c, unless they remit *it* as alms: and if *the slain person* be of a people at enmity with you, and be a true believer, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer^d; but if he be of a people in confederacy with you, a fine to be paid to his family, and the freeing of a believer. And he who findeth not *wherewith to do this* shall fast two months consecutively *as a penance enjoined* from GOD; and GOD is knowing and wise. But whoso killeth a believer designedly, his reward shall be hell; he shall remain therein *for ever*^e; and GOD shall be angry with

* “There are others who wish to ally your belief with that of their own nation.” —*Savary*.

^a The persons hinted at here were the tribes of Asad and Ghatfân, or, as some say, Banu Abdaldâr, who came to Medina and pretended to embrace Mohammedism, that they might be trusted by the Moslems, but when they returned, fell back to their old idolatry¹.

^b That is, by accident and without design. This passage was revealed to decide the case of Ayâsh Ebn Abi Rabîa, the brother, by the mother's side, of Abu Jahl, who meeting Hareth Ebn Zeid on the road, and not knowing that he had embraced Mohammedism, slew him².

^c Which fine is to be distributed according to the laws of inheritances given in the beginning of this chapter³.—“The sum fixed by the law is the price of a hundred camels.”—*Savary*.

^d And no fine shall be paid, because in such case his relations, being infidels and at open war with the Moslems, have no right to inherit what he leaves.

^e That is, unless he repent. Others however understand not here an eternity of damnation (for it is the general doctrine of the Mohammedans that none who profess that faith shall continue in hell for ever), but only a long space of time⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

⁴ Idem.

him, and shall curse him, and shall prepare for him a great punishment. O true believers, when ye are on a march in defence of the true religion, justly discern *such as ye shall happen to meet*, and say not unto him who saluteth you, thou art not a true believer^a; seeking the accidental goods of the present life^b; for with GOD is much spoil. Such have ye formerly been; but GOD hath been gracious unto you^c; therefore make a just discernment, for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Those believers who sit still *at home*, not having any hurt^d, and those who employ their fortunes and their persons for the religion of GOD, shall not be held equal. GOD hath preferred those who employ their fortunes and their persons *in that cause* to a degree of honour above those who sit at home: GOD hath indeed promised every one paradise, but GOD hath preferred those who fight *for the faith* before those who sit still, *by adding unto them* a great reward, *by degrees of honour conferred on them* from him, and *by granting them* forgiveness, and mercy; for GOD is indulgent and merciful. Moreover unto those whom the angels put to death, having injured their own souls^e, *the*

^a On pretence that he only feigns to be a Moslem, that he might escape from you. The commentators mention more instances than one of persons slain and plundered by Mohammed's men under this pretext, notwithstanding they declared themselves Moslems by repeating the usual form of words, and saluting them; for which reason this passage was revealed, to prevent such rash judgments for the future.

^b That is, being willing to judge him an infidel, only that ye may kill and plunder him.

^c viz. At your first profession of Islamism, before ye had given any demonstrations of your sincerity and zeal therein.

^d i. e. Not being disabled from going to war by sickness, or other just impediment. It is said that when the passage was first revealed, there was no such exception therein, which occasioned Ebn Omm Mactûm, on his hearing it repeated, to object, *And what though I be blind?* Whereupon Mohammed, falling into a kind of trance, which was succeeded by strong agitations, pretended he had received the divine direction to add these words to the text¹.

^e These were certain inhabitants of Mecca, who held with the hare and ran with the hounds; for though they embraced Mohammedism, yet they would not leave that city to join the prophet, as the rest of the Moslems did, but on the contrary, went out with the idolaters, and were therefore slain with them at the battle of Bedr².

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

angels said, Of what *religion* were ye? they answered, We were weak in the earth^a. *The angels* replied, Was not GOD's earth wide enough, that ye might fly therein to a place of refuge^b? Therefore their habitation shall be hell; and an evil journey shall it be thither: except the weak among men, and women, and children, who were not able to find means, and were not directed in the way; these peradventure GOD will pardon, for GOD is ready to forgive, and gracious. Whosoever flieth from his country for the sake of GOD's true religion, shall find in the earth many forced to do the same, and plenty of provisions. And whoever departeth from his house, and flieth unto GOD and his apostle, if death overtake him in the way^c, GOD will be obliged to reward him, for GOD is gracious and merciful. When ye march to war in the earth, it shall be no crime in you if ye shorten your prayers, in case ye fear the infidels may attack you; for the infidels are your open enemy. But when thou, O prophet, shalt be among them, and shalt pray with them, let a party of them arise to prayer with thee, and let them take their arms; and when they shall have worshipped, let them stand behind you^d, and let another party come that hath not prayed, and let them pray with thee, and let them be cautious and take their arms. The unbelievers would that ye should neglect your arms and your baggage while ye pray, that they might turn upon you at once. It shall be no crime in you, if ye be incommoded by rain, or be sick, that ye lay down your arms; but take your necessary precaution^e: GOD hath prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment. And when ye shall have ended your prayer, remember GOD, stand-

^a Being unable to fly, and compelled to follow the infidels to war.

^b As they did who fled to Ethiopia and to Medina.

^c This passage was revealed, says al Beidâwi, on account of Jondob Ebn Damra. This person being sick, was, in his flight, carried by his sons on a couch, and before he arrived at Medina, perceiving his end approached, he clapped his right hand on his left, and solemnly plighting his faith to GOD and his apostle, died.

^d To defend those who are at prayers, and to face the enemy.

^e By keeping strict guard.

ing, and sitting, and *lying* on your sides ^a. But when ye are secure *from danger*, complete *your* prayers; for prayer is commanded the faithful, and appointed to be said at the stated times. Be not negligent in seeking out the *unbelieving* people, though ye suffer *some inconvenience*; for they *also* shall suffer as ye suffer, and ye hope for a reward from GOD which they cannot hope for; and GOD is knowing and wise ^b. We have sent down unto thee the book of the *Korán* with truth, that thou mayest judge between men through that *wisdom* which GOD showeth thee *therein*; and be not an advocate for the fraudulent ^c; but ask pardon of GOD for thy *wrong intention*, since GOD is indulgent and merciful. Dispute not for those who deceive one another, for GOD loveth not him who is a deceiver or unjust ^d. *Such* conceal themselves from men, but they conceal not themselves from GOD; for he is with them when they imagine by night a saying which pleaseth him not ^e, and GOD comprehendeth what they do. Behold, ye are they who have disputed for them in this present life; but who shall dispute with GOD for them on the day of resurrection, or who will become their patron? yet he who doth evil, or injureth his

^a That is, in such posture as ye shall be able ¹.

^b This verse was revealed on occasion of the unwillingness of Mohammed's men to accompany him in the lesser expedition of Bedr ².

^c Tíma Ebn Obeirak of the sons of Dhafar, one of Mohammed's companions, stole a coat of mail from his neighbour Kitāda Ebn al Nomān, in a bag of meal; and hid it at a Jew's, named Zeid Ebn al Samín: Tíma being suspected, the coat of mail was demanded of him, but he denying he knew any thing of it, they followed the track of the meal, which had run out through a hole in the bag, to the Jew's house, and there seized it, accusing him of the theft; but he producing witnesses of his own religion that he had it of Tíma, the sons of Dhafar came to Mohammed, and desired him to defend his companion's reputation, and condemn the Jew; which he having some thoughts of doing, this passage was revealed, reprehending him for his rash intention, and commanding him to judge not according to his own prejudice and opinion, but according to the merit of the case ³.

^d Al Beidāwī, as an instance of the divine justice, adds, that Tíma, after the fact above mentioned, fled to Mecca, and returned to idolatry; and there undermining the wall of a house, in order to commit a robbery, the wall fell in upon him and crushed him to death.

^e That is, when they secretly contrive means, by false evidence or otherwise, to lay their crimes on innocent persons.

¹ See before, ch. 3, p. 82.
Yahya.

² Al Beidāwī.

³ Idem, Jallalo'ddin,

own soul, and afterwards asketh pardon of God, shall find God gracious *and* merciful. Whoso committeth wickedness, committeth it against his own soul: God is knowing *and* wise. And whoso committeth a sin or iniquity, and afterwards layeth it on the innocent, he shall surely bear *the guilt of* calumny and manifest injustice. If the indulgence and mercy of God had not been upon thee, surely a part of them had studied to seduce thee^a; but they shall seduce themselves only*, and shall not hurt thee at all. God hath sent down unto thee the book *of the Korân* and wisdom, and hath taught thee that which thou knewest not^b; for the favour of God hath been great towards thee. There is no good in the multitude of their private discourses, unless *in the discourse* of him who recommendeth alms, or that which is right, or agreement amongst men: whoever doth this out of a desire to please God, we will surely give him a great reward. But whoso separateth himself from the apostle, after *true* direction hath been manifested unto him, and followeth any other way than that of the true believers, we will cause him to obtain that to which he is inclined^c, and will cast him to be burned in hell; and an unhappy journey shall it be *thither*. Verily God will not pardon the giving him a companion, but he will pardon *any crime* besides that, unto whom he pleaseth: and he who giveth a companion unto God is surely led aside into a wide mistake; the *infidels* invoke beside him only female *deities*^d; * and only invoke rebellious Satan. God cursed him; and he said,

^a Meaning the sons of Dhafar.

^b "A part of the unbelievers conspired thy ruin; but they brought ruin on themselves. The divine goodness watched over thy safety. They had not power to hurt thee."—*Savary*.

^c By instructing thee in the knowledge of right and wrong, and the rules of justice.

^d *viz.* Error, and false notions of religion.

^e Namely, Allât, al Uzza, and Menât, the idols of the Meccans; or the angels, whom they called the *daughters of God*¹.

* "They have goddesses for divinities; but Satan is the object of their worship."—*Savary*.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § 1. p. 23, &c.

Verily I will take of thy servants a part cut off *from the rest*^a, and I will seduce them, and will insinuate *vain* desires into them, and I will command them and they shall cut off the ears of cattle^b; and I will command them and they shall change GOD's creature^c. But whoever taketh Satan for his patron, besides GOD^d, shall surely perish with a manifest destruction. He maketh them promises, and insinuateth into them vain desires; yet Satan maketh them only deceitful promises. The receptacle of these shall be hell, they shall find no refuge from it. But they who believe, and do good works, we will surely lead them into gardens, through which rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever, *according to* the true promise of GOD; and who is more true than GOD in what he saith? It shall not be according to your desires, nor *according to* the desires of those who have received the scriptures^e. Whoso doth evil shall be rewarded for it; and shall not find any patron or helper, beside GOD; but whoso doth good works, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer; they shall be admitted into paradise, and shall not in the least be unjustly dealt with. Who is better in point of religion than he who resigneth himself unto GOD, and is a worker of righteousness, and followeth the law of

^a Or, as the original may be translated, a part *destined or predetermined* to be seduced by me.

^b Which was done out of superstition by the old pagan Arabs. See more of this custom in the notes to the fifth chapter.

^c Either by maiming it, or putting it to uses not designed by the Creator. Al Beidâwi supposes the text to intend not only the superstitious amputations of the ears and other parts of cattle, but the castration of slaves, the marking their bodies with figures, by pricking and dyeing them with woad or indigo (as the Arabs did and still do), the sharpening their teeth by filing; and also sodomy, and the unnatural amours between those of the female sex, the worship of the sun, moon, and other parts of nature, and the like.

^d *i. e.* By leaving the service of GOD, and doing the works of the devil.

^e That is, the promises of GOD are not to be gained by acting after your own fancies, nor yet after the fancies of the Jews or Christians, but by obeying the commands of GOD. This passage, they say, was revealed on a dispute which arose between those of the three religions, each preferring his own, and condemning the others. Some however suppose the persons here spoken to in the second person were not the Mohammedans, but the idolaters¹.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya.

Abraham the orthodox? since GOD took Abraham for his friend^a: and to GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; GOD comprehendeth all things. They will consult thee concerning women^b; Answer, GOD instructeth you concerning them^c, and that which is read unto you in the book of the *Korân* concerning female orphans, to whom ye give not that which is ordained them, neither will ye marry them^d, and concerning weak infants^e, and that ye observe justice towards orphans: whatever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. If a woman fear ill usage^{*}, or aversion from her husband, it shall be no crime in them if they agree the matter amicably between themselves^f; for a reconciliation is better *than a separation*. *Men's souls*

^a Therefore the Mohammedans usually call that patriarch, as the Scripture also does, Khalil Allah, the *friend of GOD*, and simply al Khalil; and they tell the following story:—That Abraham in a time of dearth sent to a friend of his in Egypt for a supply of corn; but the friend denied him, saying in his excuse, that though there was a famine in their country also, yet had it been for Abraham's own family, he would have sent what he desired, but he knew he wanted it only to entertain his guests and give away to the poor, according to his usual hospitality. The servants whom Abraham had sent on this message, being ashamed to return empty, to conceal the matter from their neighbours, filled their sacks with fine white sand, which in the East pretty much resembles meal. Abraham being informed by his servants, on their return, of their ill success, the concern he was under threw him into a sleep; and in the mean time Sarah, knowing nothing of what had happened, opening one of the sacks, found good flour in it, and immediately set out about making of bread. Abraham awaking and smelling the new bread, asked her whence she had the flour? *Why*, says she, *from your friend in Egypt*; *Nay*, replied the patriarch, *it must have come from no other than my friend GOD Almighty*.

^b *i. e.* As to the share they are to have in the distribution of the inheritances of their deceased relations; for it seems the Arabs were not satisfied with Mohammed's decision on this point, against the old customs.

^c *i. e.* He hath already made known his will unto you, by revealing the passages concerning inheritances in the beginning of this chapter.

^d Or the words may be rendered in the affirmative, *and whom ye desire to marry*. For the pagan Arabs used to wrong their female orphans in both instances; obliging them to marry against their inclinations, if they were beautiful or rich; or else not suffering them to marry at all, that they might keep what belonged to them².

^e That is, male children of tender years, to whom the Arabs, in the time of paganism, used to allow no share in the distribution of their parent's estate³.

^{*} "If the harshness and aversion of her husband cause a woman to fear that he will divorce her, she ought to endeavour to bring him back to mildness. Mutual reconciliation is the wisest plan to adopt. Man has a leaning towards avarice. Be beneficent, and fear to be unjust. God is witness of your actions."—*Savary*.

^f By the wife's remitting part of her dower or other dues.

¹ Al Beidâwi. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 14, and Morgan's Mahometism Explained, vol. i. p. 132.

Al Beidâwi.

³ See before p. 86, Note c.

are naturally inclined to covetousness^a: but if ye be kind *towards women*, and fear *to wrong them*, GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. Ye can by no means carry yourselves equally between women *in all respects*, although ye study *to do it*; therefore turn not *from a wife* with all *manner of aversion*^b, nor leave her like one in suspense^c: if ye agree, and fear *to abuse your wives*, GOD is gracious and merciful; but if they separate, GOD will satisfy *them* both of his abundance^d; for GOD is extensive and wise, and unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth. We have already commanded those unto whom the scriptures were given before you, and *we command* you also, *saying*, Fear GOD; but if ye disbelieve, unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is self-sufficient^e, and to be praised; for unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and GOD is a sufficient protector. If he pleaseth he will take you away, O men, and will produce others^f *in your stead*; for GOD is able to do this. Whoso desireth the reward of this world, verily with GOD is the reward of this world, and *also* of that which is to come; GOD *both* heareth and seeth. O true believers, observe justice when ye bear witness before GOD, although *it be* against yourselves, or *your* parents, or relations; whether *the party* be rich, or *whether he* be poor; for GOD is more worthy than them both: therefore follow not *your own lust in bearing testimony*, so that ye swerve *from justice*. And whether ye wrest *your evi-*

^a So that the woman, on the one side, is unwilling to part with any of her right, and the husband, on the other, cares not to retain one he has no affection for; or, if he should retain her, she can scarce expect he will use her in all respects as he ought¹.

^b *i. e.* Though you cannot use her equally well with a beloved wife, yet observe some measures of justice towards her; for if a man is not able perfectly to perform his duty, he ought not, for that reason, entirely to neglect it².

^c Or like one that neither has a husband, nor is divorced and at liberty to marry elsewhere.

^d That is, either will bless them with a better and more advantageous match, or with peace and tranquillity of mind³.

^e Wanting the service of no creature.

^f Either another race of men, or a different species of creatures.

dence, or decline *giving it*, God is well acquainted with that which ye do. O true believers, believe in God and his apostle, and the book which he hath caused to descend unto his apostle, and the book which he hath formerly sent down ^a. And whosoever believeth not in God, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles, and the last day, he surely erreth in a wide mistake. Moreover they who believed, and afterwards became infidels, and then believed *again*, and after that disbelieved, and increased in infidelity ^b, God will by no means forgive them, nor direct them into the *right* way. Declare unto the ungodly ^c that they shall suffer a painful punishment. They who take the unbelievers for their protectors, besides the faithful, do they seek for power with them? since all power belongeth unto God. And he hath already revealed unto you, in the book of the *Korân* ^d, the following passage—When ye shall hear the signs of God, they shall not be believed, but they shall be laughed to scorn. Therefore sit not with them *who believe not*, until they engage in different discourse; for *if ye do ye* will certainly *become* like unto them. God will surely gather the ungodly and the unbelievers together in hell. They who wait to observe *what befalleth* you, if victory be *granted* you from God, say, Were we not with you ^e? But if any advantage happen to the infidels, they say *unto them*, Were we not superior to you ^f, and have we not de-

^a It is said that Abdallah Ebn Salâm and his companions told Mohammed that they believed in him, and his Korân, and in Moses, and the pentateuch, and in Ezra, but no farther; whereupon this passage was revealed, declaring that a partial faith is little better than none at all, and that a true believer must believe in all God's prophets and revelations without exception ¹.

^b These were the Jews, who first believed in Moses, and afterwards fell into idolatry by worshipping the golden calf; and though they repented of that, yet in after ages rejected the prophets who were sent to them, and particularly Jesus the son of Mary, and now filled up the measure of their unbelief by rejecting of Mohammed ².

^c Mohammed here means those who hypocritically pretended to believe in him but really did not, and by their treachery did great mischief to his party ³.

^d In the Korân, chap. 6.

^e *i. e.* Did we not assist you? therefore give us a part of the spoil ⁴.

^f Would not our army have cut you off, if it had not been for our faint assistance, or rather desertion, of the Moslems, and our disheartening them ⁵?

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ Idem.

fended you against the believers? GOD shall judge between you on the day of resurrection; and GOD will not grant the unbelievers means to *prevail* over the faithful. The hypocrites act deceitfully with GOD, but he will deceive them; and when they stand up to pray, they stand carelessly, affecting to be seen of men, and remember not GOD, unless a little^a, wavering between *faith and infidelity*, and *adhering* neither unto these nor unto those^b: and for him whom GOD shall lead astray thou shalt find no true path. O true believers, take not the unbelievers for *your* protectors, besides the faithful. Will ye furnish GOD with an evident argument of *impiety* against you? Moreover the hypocrites shall be in the lowest bottom of *hell fire*^c, and thou shalt not find any to help them *thence*. But they who repent and amend, and adhere firmly unto GOD, and approve the sincerity of their religion to GOD, they shall be *numbered* with the faithful; and GOD will surely give the faithful a great reward. And how should GOD go about to punish you, if ye be thankful and believe? for GOD is grateful and wise.

* GOD loveth not the speaking ill of *any one* in VI. public, unless he who is injured *call for assistance*; and GOD heareth and knoweth: whether ye publish a good *action*, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily GOD is gracious *and* powerful. They who believe not in GOD, and his apostles, and would make a distinction between GOD and his apostles^d, and say, We believe in some of the *prophets* and reject others of *them*, and seek to take a *middle way* in this *matter*; these are really unbelievers: and we have prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment. But they who believe in GOD and his apostles, and make no distinction between any of them, unto those will we surely

^a That is, with the tongue, and not with the heart.

^b Halting between two opinions, and being stanch friends neither to the Moslems nor the infidels.

^c See the Prelim. Disc. § 4. p. 126.

^d See chap. 2. p. 50. note *a*.

give their reward; and GOD is gracious *and* merciful. They who have received the scriptures ^a will demand of thee, that thou cause a book to descend unto them from heaven: they formerly asked of Moses a greater *thing* than this; for they said, Show us GOD visibly ^b. Wherefore a storm of fire from heaven destroyed them, because of their iniquity. Then they took the calf *for their GOD* ^c, after that evident proofs of the *divine unity* had come unto them: but we forgave *them* that, and gave Moses a manifest power to *punish them* ^d. And we lifted the mountain of *Sinai* over them ^e, when we exacted from them their covenant^{*}; and said unto them, Enter the gate of the city worshipping ^f. We also said unto them, Transgress not on the Sabbath day. And we received from them a firm covenant, *that they would observe these things*. Therefore for that ^g they have made void their covenant, and have not believed in the signs of GOD, and have slain the prophets unjustly, and have said, Our hearts are uncircumcised; (but GOD hath sealed them up, because of their unbelief; therefore they shall not believe, except a few of them:) and for that they have not believed in *Jesus*, and have spoken against Mary a grievous calumny^h; and have said, Verily we have slain Christ Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of GOD; yet they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented *by one* in his

^a That is, the Jews, who demanded of Mohammed, as a proof of his mission, that they might see a book of revelations descend to him from heaven, or that he would produce one written in a celestial character, like the two tables of Moses.

^b See chap. 2. p. 10.

This story seems to be an addition to what Moses says of the seventy elders, who went up to the mountain with him, and with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and saw the God of Israel ¹.

^c See chap. 2. p. 9.

^d See *ibid.* p. 9, Note c.

^e See *ibid.* p. 12.

^{*} "We raised up Mount Sinai as a pledge of our covenant."—*Savary*.

^f See *ibid.* p. 10.

^g There being nothing in the following words of this sentence to answer to the casual *for that*, Jallalo'ddin supposes something to be understood to complete the sense, as, *therefore we have cursed them*, or the like.

^h By accusing her of fornication ².

¹ Exod. xxiv. 9, 10, 11.

² See the Koran, ch. 19, and that virulent book

entitled Toldoth Jesu.

likeness^a; and verily they who disagreed concerning him^b were in a doubt as to this *matter*, and had no *sure* knowledge thereof, but followed only an *uncertain* opinion. They did not really kill him; but GOD took him up unto himself: and GOD is mighty and wise. And *there shall not be one* of those who have received the scriptures, who shall not believe in him, before his death^c; and on the day of resurrection he shall be a witness against them^d. Because of the iniquity of those who judaize, we have forbidden them good things, which had been *formerly* allowed them^e; and because they shut out many from the way of GOD, and have taken usury, which was forbidden them *by the law*, and devoured men's substance vainly: we have prepared for such of them as are unbelievers a painful punishment. But those among them who are well grounded in knowledge^f, and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down *unto the prophets* before thee, and

^a See chap. 3, p. 60, and the notes there.

^b For some maintained that he was justly and really crucified; some insisted that it was not Jesus who suffered, but another who resembled him in the face, pretending the other parts of his body, by their unlikeness, plainly discovered the imposition; some said he was taken up into heaven; and others, that his manhood only suffered, and that his godhead ascended into heaven¹.

^c This passage is expounded two ways.

Some, referring the relative *his*, to the first antecedent, take the meaning to be, that no Jew or Christian shall die before he believes in Jesus; for they say, that when one of either of those religious is ready to breathe his last, and sees the angel of death before him, he shall then believe in that prophet as he ought, though his faith will not then be of any avail. According to a tradition of Hejâj, when a Jew is expiring, the angels will strike him on the back and face, and say to him, *O thou enemy of God, Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee and thou didst not believe in him*; to which he will answer, *I now believe him to be the servant of God*: and to a dying Christian they will say, *Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou hast imagined him to be God or the Son of God*; whereupon he will believe him to be the servant of God only, and his apostle.

Others, taking the abovementioned relative to refer to Jesus, suppose the intent of the passage to be, that all Jews and Christians in general shall have a right faith in that prophet before his death; that is, when he descends from heaven and returns into the world, where he is to kill Antichrist, and to establish the Mahomedan religion, and a most perfect tranquillity and security on earth².

^d *i. e.* Against the Jews, for rejecting him³, and against the Christians, for calling him God, and the Son of God⁴.

^e See chap. 3, p. 60 and 67, and the Notes there.

^f As Abdallah Ebn Salâm, and his companions⁵.

¹ Al Beidâwi. ² Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, Al Zamakhshari, and Al Beidâwi. See the Prelim. Disc. § iv. p. 111. ³ Al Beidawi. ⁴ Idem.

who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and believe in God and the last day; unto these will we give a great reward. Verily we have revealed *our will* unto thee, as we have revealed *it* unto Noah and the prophets who succeeded him; and *as* we revealed *it* unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and unto Jesus, and Job, and Jonas, and Aaron, and Solomon; and *we have given thee the Korân*, as we gave the psalms unto David: *some apostles have we sent*, whom we have formerly mentioned unto thee, and *other apostles have we sent*, whom we have not mentioned unto thee; and God spake unto Moses, discoursing *with him*; apostles declaring good tidings, and denouncing threats, lest men should have an argument of *excuse* against God, after the apostles *had been sent unto them*; God is mighty and wise. God is witness of that *revelation* which he hath sent down unto thee; he sent it down with his *special knowledge*: the angels also are witnesses *thereof*; but God is a sufficient witness. They who believe not, and turn aside *others* from the way of God, have erred in a wide mistake. Verily those who believe not, and act unjustly, God will by no means forgive, neither will he direct them into *any other* way, than the way of hell; they shall remain therein for ever: and this is easy with God. O men, now is the apostle come unto you, with truth from your LORD; believe therefore, *it will be better for you*. But if ye disbelieve, verily unto God *belongeth* whatsoever *is* in heaven and on earth; and God is knowing and wise. O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not the just bounds in your religion^a, neither say of God *any other* than the truth. Verily Christ Jesus the son of Mary *is* the apostle of God, and his Word, which he conveyed into Mary, and a spirit *proceeding* from him. Believe

^a Either by rejecting and contemning of Jesus, as the Jews do; or raising him to an equality with God, as do the Christians¹.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

therefore in GOD, and his apostles, and say not, *There are three GODS*^a; forbear *this*; it will be better for you. GOD is but one GOD. Far be it from him that he should have a son! unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is a sufficient protector*. Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto GOD; neither the angels who approach near to *his presence*: and whoso disdaineth his service, and is puffed up with pride, GOD will gather them all to himself, *on the last day*. Unto those who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give their rewards, and shall *superabundantly* add unto them of his liberality: but those who are disdainful and proud, he will punish with a grievous punishment; and they shall not find any to protect or to help them, besides GOD. O men, now is an evident proof come unto you from your LORD, and we have sent down unto you manifest light^b. They who believe in GOD and firmly adhere to him, he will lead them into mercy from him, and abundance; and he will direct them in the right way to himself^c. They will consult thee *for thy decision in certain cases*; say unto them, GOD giveth you *these* determinations, concerning the more remote degrees of kindred^d. If a man die without issue, and have a sister, she shall have the half of what he shall leave^e: and he shall be heir to her^f, in case she have no issue. But if there be two

* Namely, God, Jesus, and Mary¹. For the eastern writers mention a sect of Christians which held the Trinity to be composed of those three²; but it is allowed that this heresy has been long since extinct³. The passage, however, is equally levelled against the Holy Trinity, according to the doctrine of the orthodox Christians, who, as Al Beidâwi acknowledges, believe the divine nature to consist of three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by the Father, understanding God's essence, by the Son, his knowledge, and by the Holy Ghost, his life.

^a "Far from having a son, he governeth alone the heaven and the earth. He is sufficient unto himself."—*Savary*.

^b That is, Mohammed and his Korân.

^c Viz. Into the religion of Islâm, in this world, and the way to paradise in the next⁴.

^d See the beginning of this chapter, p. 86, 87.

^e And the other half will go to the public treasury.

^f That is, he shall inherit her whole substance.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya.
See the Prelim. Disc. § II. p. 48.

² Elmacin, p. 227. Eutych. p. 120.
³ Ahmed Ebn Abd'al Halim.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

sisters, they shall have *between them* two third parts of what he shall leave; and if there be *several, both* brothers and sisters, a male shall have as much as the portion of two females. God declareth unto you *these precepts*, lest ye err: and God knoweth all things.

CHAPTER V.

Intituled, The Table ^a; revealed at Medina.

In the name of the most merciful God.

O TRUE believers, perform your contracts. Ye are allowed *to eat* the brute cattle ^b, other than what ye are commanded *to abstain from*; except the game which ye are allowed *at other times, but not*, while ye are on pilgrimage *to Mecca*; God ordaineth that which he pleaseth. O true believers, violate not the holy rites of God ^c, nor the sacred month ^d, nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung *thereon* ^e, nor those who are travelling to the holy house, seeking favour from their LORD, and to please *him*. But when ye shall have finished *your pilgrimage*; then hunt. And let not the malice of some, in that they hindered you *from*

^a This title is taken from the Table, which, towards the end of the chapter, is fabled to have been let down from heaven to Jesus. It is sometimes also called the chapter of Contracts, which word occurs in the first verse.

^b As camels, oxen, and sheep; and also wild cows, antelopes, &c. ¹: but not swine, nor what is taken in hunting during the pilgrimage.

^c The ceremonies used in the pilgrimage of Mecca.

^d See the Prelim. Disc. § VII.

^e The offering here meant is the sheep led to Mecca, to be there sacrificed; about the neck of which they use to hang garlands, green boughs, or some other ornament, that it may be distinguished as a thing sacred ².

¹ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidâwi.

² See the Prelim. Disc. § IV.

entering the sacred temple^a, provoke you to transgress, *by taking revenge on them in the sacred months*. Assist one another according to justice and piety, but assist not one another in injustice and malice: therefore fear GOD; for GOD is severe in punishing. Ye are forbidden *to eat* that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which the name of any besides GOD hath been invocated^b; and that which hath been strangled, or killed by a blow, or by a fall, or by the horns of *another beast*, and that which hath been eaten by a wild beast^c, except what ye shall kill *yourselves*^d; and that which hath been sacrificed unto idols^e. *It is likewise unlawful for you to make division by casting lots with arrows*^f. This is an impiety. On this day^g, wo be unto those who have apostatized from their religion; therefore fear not them, but fear me. This day have I perfected your religion for you^h, and have completed my mercy upon youⁱ; and I have chosen for you Islam, *to be your religion*. But whosoever shall be driven by necessity through hunger, *to eat of what we have forbidden*, not designing to sin, surely GOD *will be indulgent and merciful unto him*. They will ask thee what is allowed them *as lawful to eat*? Answer, Such things as are

^a In the expedition of Al Hodeibiya¹.

^b For the idolatrous Arabs used, in killing any animal for food, to consecrate it, as it were, to their idols, by saying, In the name of Allât, or al Uzza².

^c Or by a creature trained up to hunting³.

^d That is, unless ye come up time enough to find life in the animal, and to cut its throat.

^e The word also signifies certain stones, which the pagan Arabs used to set up near their houses, and on which they superstitiously slew animals, in honour of their gods⁴.

^f See the Prelim. Disc. § V.

^g This passage, it is said, was revealed on Friday evening, being the day of the pilgrims visiting mount Arafat, the last time Mohammed visited the temple of Mecca, therefore called the *pilgrimage of valediction*⁵.

^h And therefore the commentators say that after this time no positive or negative precept was given⁶.

ⁱ By having given you a true and perfect religion; or, by the taking of Mecca, and the destruction of idolatry.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § II. p. 72.
⁴ Idem.

⁶ V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 131.

² See ch. 2, p. 28.

⁵ Idem. See Frid. Life of Mahom. p. 99.

³ Al

good ^a are allowed you ; and what ye shall teach animals of prey *to catch* ^b, training them up for hunting after the manner of dogs, *and* teaching them according to the *skill* which GOD hath taught you. Eat therefore of that which they shall catch for you ; and commemorate the name of GOD thereon ^c ; and fear GOD, for GOD is swift in taking an account. This day are ye allowed to eat such things as are good, and the food of those to whom the scriptures were given ^d is *also* allowed as lawful unto you ; and your food is allowed as lawful unto them. *And ye are also allowed to marry* free women that are believers, and also free women of those who have received the scriptures before you, when ye shall have assigned them their dower ; living chastly *with them*, neither committing fornication, nor taking *them* for concubines. Whoever shall renounce the faith, his work shall be vain, and in the next life he shall be of those who perish. O true believers, when ye prepare yourselves to pray, wash your faces, and your hands unto the elbows ; and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ankles ; and if ye be polluted by having lain with a woman, wash yourselves *all over*. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or *if* ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith ; GOD would not put a difficulty upon you ; but he desireth to purify you, and to complete his favour upon you, that ye may give thanks. Remember the favour of GOD towards you, and his covenant which he hath made with you, when ye said, We have heard, and will obey ^e. Therefore fear GOD, for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of

^a Not such as are filthy, or unwholesome.

^b Whether beasts or birds.

^c Either when ye let go the hound, hawk, or other animal, after the game, or when ye kill it.

^d *Viz.* Slain or dressed by Jews or Christians.

^e These words are the form used at the inauguration of a prince ; and Mohammed here intends the oath of fidelity which his followers had taken to him at al Akaba ¹.

¹ V. Abulfed. Vit. Meh. p. 43, and the Prelim. Disc. § II. p. 65.

men. O true believers, observe justice when ye appear as witnesses before GOD, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong: *but* act justly; this will approach nearer unto piety*; and fear GOD, for GOD is fully acquainted with what ye do. GOD hath promised unto those who believe, and do that which is right, that they shall receive pardon and a great reward. But they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they shall be the companions of hell. O true believers, remember GOD's favour towards you, when certain men designed to stretch forth their hands against you, but he restrained their hands from *hurting* you^a; therefore fear GOD, and in GOD let the faithful trust. GOD formerly accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, and we appointed out of them twelve leaders: and GOD said, Verily I am with you^b: if ye observe prayer, and

* "Justice is the sister of piety."—*Savary*.

^a The commentators tell several stories as the occasion of this passage. One says, that Mohammed and some of his followers being at Osfân (a place not far from Mecca, in the way to Medina) and performing their noon devotions, a company of idolaters, who were in view, repented they had not taken that opportunity of attacking them, and therefore waited till the hour of evening prayer, intending to fall upon them then: but God defeated their design, by revealing the verse of *fear*. Another relates, that the prophet going to the tribe of Koreidha (who were Jews) to levy a fine for the blood of two Moslems, who had been killed by mistake, by Amru Ebn Ommeya al Dimri, they desired him to sit down and eat with them, and they would pay the fine; Mohammed complying with their request, while he was sitting, they laid a design against his life, one Amru Ebn Jahâsh undertaking to throw a mill-stone upon him; but God withheld his hand, and Gabriel immediately descended to acquaint the prophet with their treachery, upon which he rose up and went his way. A third story is, that Mohammed having hung up his arms on a tree, under which he was resting himself, and his companions being dispersed some distance from him, an Arab of the desert came up to him, and drew his sword, saying, *Who hindereth me from killing thee?* To which Mohammed answered God: and Gabriel beating the sword out of the Arab's hand, Mohammed took it up, and asked him the same question, *Who hinders me from killing thee?* the Arab replied, *No body*; and immediately professed Mahommedanism¹. Abûlfeda² tells the same story, with some variation of circumstances.

^b After the Israelites had escaped from Pharaoh, God ordered them to go against Jericho, which was then inhabited by giants, of the race of the Canaanites, promising to give it into their hands; and Moses, by the divine direction, appointed a prince or captain over each tribe, to lead them in that expedition³, and when they came to the borders of the land of Canaan, sent the captains as spies to get information of the state of the country, enjoining them secrecy; but they being terrified at the prodigious size and strength of the inhabitants, disheartened the people by publicly telling what they had seen, except only Caleb the son of Yufanna (Jephunneh) and Joshua the son of Nun⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi. ² Vit. Moh. p. 73.

³ See Numb. i. 4, 5.

⁴ Al

Beidâwi. See Numb. xiii. and xiv.

give alms, and believe in my apostles, and assist them, and lend unto God on good usury^{a,*} I will surely expiate your evil *deeds* from you, and I will lead you into gardens, wherein rivers flow: but he among you who disbelieveth after this, erreth from the strait path. Wherefore because they have broken their covenant, we have cursed them, and hardened their hearts; they dislocate the words of the *Pentateuch* from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admonished; and wilt thou not cease to discover deceitful practices among them, except a few of them. But forgive them^b, and pardon them, for God loveth the beneficent. And from those who say, We are Christians, we have received their covenant; but they have forgotten part of what they were admonished; wherefore we have raised up enmity and hatred among them, till the day of resurrection; and God will *then* surely declare unto them what they have been doing. O ye who have received the scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you, to make manifest unto you many *things* which ye concealed in the scriptures^c; and to pass over^d many *things*. Now is light and a perspicuous book of *revelations* come unto you from GOD. Thereby will GOD direct him who shall follow his good pleasure, into the paths of peace; and shall lead them out of darkness into light, by his will, and shall direct them in the right way. They are infidels, who say, Verily God is Christ the son of Mary. Say unto them, And who could obtain any thing from God *to the contrary*, if he pleased to destroy Christ the son of Mary, and his mother, and all those who are on the earth? For unto God *belongeth* the kingdom of

^a By contributing towards this holy war.

* “Employ your riches in the defence of the holy religion.”—*Savary*.

^b That is, if they repent and believe, or submit to pay tribute. Some, however, think these words are abrogated by the verse of the *sword*¹.

^c Such as the verse of stoning adulterers², the description of Mohammed, and Christ's prophecy of him by the name of Ahmed³.

^d *i. e.* Those which it was not necessary to restore.

¹ Al Beidāwi.

² See Chap. 3, p. 54.

³ Al Beidāwi.

heaven and earth, and whatsoever *is contained* between them; he createth what he pleaseth, and GOD is almighty. The Jews and the Christians say, We are the children of GOD, and his beloved. Answer, Why therefore doth he punish you for your sins? Nay, but ye are men, of those whom he hath created. He forgiveth whom he pleaseth, and punisheth whom he pleaseth; and unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of what *is contained* between them both; and unto him shall *all things* return. O ye who have received the scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you, declaring unto you *the true religion*, during the cessation of apostles ^a, lest ye should say, There came unto us no bearer of good tidings, nor any warner: but now is a bearer of good tidings, and a warner come unto you; and GOD is almighty. *Call to mind* when Moses said unto his people, O my people, remember the favour of GOD towards you, since he hath appointed prophets among you, and constituted you kings ^b, and bestowed on you what he hath given to no *other* nation in the world ^c. O my people, enter the holy land, which GOD hath decreed you, and turn not your backs, lest ye be subverted and perish. They answered, O Moses, verily there are a gigantic people in the *land* ^d; and we will by no means enter it, until they depart thence; but if they depart thence, then will we enter *therein*. And two men ^e of those who feared GOD, unto whom GOD had

^a The Arabic word *al Fatra* signifies the intermediate space of time between two prophets, during which no new revelation or dispensation was given; as the interval between Moses and Jesus, and between Jesus and Mohammed, at the expiration of which last, Mohammed pretended to be sent.

^b This was fulfilled either by God's giving them a kingdom, and a long series of princes; or by his having made them *kings* or *masters* of themselves, by delivering them from the Egyptian bondage.

^c Having divided the red sea for you, and guided you by a cloud, and fed you with quails and manna, &c. ¹.

^d The largest of these giants, the commentators say, was Og the son of Anak; concerning whose enormous stature, his escaping the flood, and the manner of his being slain by Moses, the Mohammedans relate several absurd fables ².

^e Namely, Caleb, and Joshua.

¹ Al Beidawi. ² V. Marracc. in Alcor. p. 231, &c. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 336.

been gracious, said, Enter ye upon them *suddenly by the gate of the city*; and when ye shall have entered the same, ye shall surely be victorious: therefore trust in God, if ye are true believers. They replied, O Moses, we will never enter *the land*, while they remain therein: go therefore thou, and thy Lord, and fight; for we will sit here. Moses said, O Lord, surely I am not master of any except myself, and my brother; therefore make a distinction between us and the ungodly people. God answered, Verily the *land* shall be forbidden them forty years; *during which time* they shall wander *like men astonished* on the earth^a; therefore be not thou solicitous for the ungodly people. Relate also unto them the history of the two sons of Adam^b, with truth. When they offered *their* offering^c, and it was accepted from one of them^d, and was not accepted from the other, Cain said *to his brother*, I will certainly kill thee. Abel answered, God only accepteth *the offering* of the pious; if thou stretchest

^a The commentators pretend that the Israelites, while they thus wandered in the desert, were kept within the compass of about eighteen (or as some say twenty-seven) miles; and that though they travelled from morning to night, yet they constantly found themselves the next day at the place from whence they set out¹.

^b *viz.* Cain and Abel, whom the Mohammedans call Kâbil and Hâbil.—“Cain is denominated Cabel by all the Arabian authors. This word, which means the *first*, is probably his proper name. The surname of Cain, which signifies *traitor*, may have been subsequently given to him. It appears, in like manner, that Habel is only a surname. In fact, it alludes to that melancholy event which plunged the family of Adam into grief, and really signifies *by his death he has left a mother in tears*.”—*Savary*.

^c The occasion of their making this offering is thus related, according to the common tradition in the east². Each of them being born with a twin-sister, when they were grown up, Adam, by God's direction, ordered Cain to marry Abel's twin-sister, and that Abel should marry Cain's; (for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity, since they must necessarily marry their sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remoter degree) but this Cain refusing to agree to, because his own sister was the handsomest, Adam ordered them to make their offerings to God, thereby referring the dispute to his determination³. The commentators say Cain's offering was a sheaf of the very worst of his corn, but Abel's a fat lamb, of the best of his flock.

^d Namely from Abel; whose sacrifice God declared his acceptance of in a visible manner, by causing fire to descend from heaven and consume it, without touching that of Cain⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

² V. Abu'l'farag, p. 6, 7. Eutych. annal. p.

15, 16, and D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Cabil.

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ Idem,

Jallalo'ddin.

forth thy hand against me, to slay me, I will not stretch forth my hand against thee, to slay thee; for I fear God the LORD of all creatures^a. I choose that thou shouldest bear my iniquity and thine own iniquity; and that thou become a companion of *hell* fire; for that is the reward of the unjust^b. But his soul suffered him to slay his brother, and he slew him^c; wherefore he became *of the number* of those who perish. And God sent a raven, which scratched the earth, to show him how he should hide the shame of his brother^d, and he said, Wo is me! am I unable to be like this raven, that I may hide my brother's shame? and he became *one* of those who repent. Wherefore we commanded the children of Israel, that he who slayeth a soul, without having slain a soul*, or committed wickedness in the earth^e, *shall be* as if he had slain all mankind^f: but he who saveth *a soul* alive, *shall be* as if he had saved the lives of all mankind. Our apostles formerly came unto them, with evident *miracles*; then were many of them, after this, transgressors on the earth. But the recompense of those who fight against God and his apostle, and study to

^a To enhance Abel's patience, al Beidâwi tells us, that he was the stronger of the two, and could easily have prevailed against his brother.

^b The conversation between the two brothers is related somewhat to the same purpose in the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel.

^c Some say he knocked out his brains with a stone¹; and pretend that as Cain was considering which way he should effect the murder, the devil appeared to him in a human shape, and showed him how to do it, by crushing the head of a bird between two stones².

^d *i. e.* His dead corpse. For Cain, having committed this fratricide, became exceedingly troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body about on his shoulders for a considerable time, not knowing where to conceal it, till it stank horridly; and then God taught him to bury it by the example of a raven, who having killed another raven in his presence, dug a pit with his claws and beak, and buried him therein³. For this circumstance of the raven Mohammed was beholden to the Jews, who tell the same story, except only that they make the raven to appear to Adam, and that he thereupon buried his son⁴.

* "He who shall slay a man, without having suffered violence from him, shall be guilty of the blood of all the human race; and he who shall save the life of a man shall be rewarded as if he had saved it to all the human race."—*Savary*.

^e Such as idolatry, or robbing on the high-way⁵.

^f Having broken the commandment which forbids the shedding of blood.

¹ V. Eutych. *ubi supra*.
Al Beidâwi.

² V. D'Herbelot, *ubi supra*.
⁴ V. R. Eliezer, Pirke, c. 20.

³ Jallalo'ddin,
⁵ Al Beidâwi.

act corruptly in the earth, *shall be*, that they shall be slain, or crucified, or have their hands and their feet cut off on the opposite *sides*, or be banished the land^a. This shall be their disgrace in this world, and in the next world they shall suffer a grievous punishment; except those who shall repent, before ye prevail against them; for know that GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. O true believers, fear GOD, and earnestly desire a near conjunction with him, and fight for his religion, that ye may be happy. Moreover they who believe not, although they had whatever *is* in the earth, and as much more withal, that they might therewith redeem themselves from punishment on the day of resurrection; it shall not be accepted from them, but they shall suffer a painful punishment. They shall desire to go forth from the fire, but they shall not go forth from it, and their punishment shall be permanent. If a man or a woman steal, cut off their hands^b, in retribution for that which they have committed; *this is* an exemplary punishment *appointed* by GOD; and GOD *is* mighty *and* wise. But whoever shall repent after his iniquity, and amend, verily GOD will be turned unto him^c, for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and*

^a The lawyers are not agreed as to the applying of these punishments. But the commentators suppose, that they who commit murder only, are to be put to death in the ordinary way; those who murder and rob too, to be crucified; those who rob without committing murder, to have their right hand and their left foot cut off; and they who assault persons and put them in fear, to be banished¹. It is also a doubt whether they who are to be crucified shall be crucified alive, or be first put to death, or whether they shall hang on the cross till they die².

^b But this punishment, according to the Sonna, is not to be inflicted, unless the value of the thing stolen amount to four dinars, or about forty shillings. For the first offence the criminal is to lose his right hand, which is to be cut off at the wrist; for the second offence, his left foot, at the ankle; for the third, his left hand; for the fourth, his right foot; and if he continue to offend, he shall be scourged at the discretion of the judge³.—"This law is no longer in use among the Turks. The bastonade is the usual punishment for theft. Robbers are also often beheaded. This crime is very rare in Turkish towns; but the defective state of the police renders it common on the high roads, and especially in the deserts."—*Savary*.)

^c That is, GOD will not punish him for it hereafter; but his repentance does not supersede the execution of the law here, nor excuse him from making restitution. Yet, according to al Shâfeî, he shall not be punished if the party wronged forgive him before he be carried before a magistrate⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwî, Jallalo'ddin.

² Al Beidâwî.

³ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidâwî.

⁴ Idem.

merciful. Dost thou not know that the kingdom of heaven and earth is GOD's? He punisheth whom he pleaseth, and he pardoneth whom he pleaseth; for GOD is almighty. O apostle, let not them grieve thee, who hasten to infidelity^a, *either* of those who say, We believe, with their mouths, but whose hearts believe not^b; or of the Jews, who hearken to a lie, *and* hearken to other people^c; *who* come not unto thee: they pervert the words *of the law* from their *true* places^d, *and* say, If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware *of receiving aught else*^e; and in behalf of him whom GOD shall resolve to seduce, thou shalt not prevail with GOD at all. They whose hearts GOD shall not please to cleanse shall suffer shame in this world, and a grievous punishment in the next: who hearken to a lie, *and* eat that which is forbidden^f. But if they come unto thee *for judgment*, either judge between them, or leave them^g; and if thou leave them, they shall not hurt

^a *i. e.* Who take the first opportunity to throw off the mask, and to join the unbelievers.

^b *viz.* The hypocritical Mohammedans.

^c These words are capable of two senses; and may either mean that they attended to the lies and forgeries of their Rabbins, neglecting the remonstrances of Mohammed; or else, that they came to hear Mohammed as spies only, that they might report what he said to their companions, and represent him as a liar¹.

^d See Chap. 4. p. 94. Note c.

^e That is, if what Mohammed tells you agrees with scripture, as corrupted and dislocated by us, then you may accept it as the word of God, but if not, reject it. These words, it is said, relate to the sentence pronounced by that prophet, on an adulterer and an adulteress², both persons of some figure among the Jews. For they, it seems, though they referred the matter to Mohammed, yet directed the persons who carried the criminals before him, that if he ordered them to be scourged, and to have their faces blackened (by way of ignominy) they should acquiesce in his determination, but in case he condemned them to be stoned, they should not. And Mohammed pronouncing the latter sentence against them, they refused to execute it, till Ebn Sûriya (a Jew), who was called upon to decide the matter, acknowledged the law to be so. Whereupon they were stoned at the door of the mosque³.

^f Some understand this of unlawful meats; but others of taking or *devouring*, as it is expressed, of usury and bribes⁴.

^g *i. e.* Take thy choice, whether thou wilt determine their differences or not. Hence al Shâfeî was of opinion that a judge was not obliged to decide causes between Jews or Christians; though if one or both of them be tributaries, or under the protection of the Mohammedans, they are obliged: this verse not regarding

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² See ch. 3, p. 54, Note b.

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ Idem.

thee at all. But if thou *undertake to judge*, judge between them with equity; for GOD loveth those who observe justice. And how will they submit to thy decision, since they have the law, containing the judgment of GOD^a? Then will they turn their backs^{*}, after this^b; but those are not true believers^c. We have surely sent down the law, containing direction, and light: thereby did the prophets, who professed the true religion, judge those who judaized; and the doctors and priests *also judged* by the book of GOD, which had been committed to their custody; and they were witnesses thereof^d. Therefore fear not men, but fear me; neither sell my signs for a small price. And whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are infidels. We have therein commanded them, that *they should give life for life^e, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth*; and *that wounds should also be punished by retaliation^f*: but whoever should remit it as alms, it *should be accepted as an atonement for him*. And whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are unjust. We also caused Jesus the son of Mary to follow the footsteps of *the prophets*, confirming the law which *was sent down* before him;

them. Abu Hanifa however thought that the magistrates were obliged to judge all cases which were submitted to them¹.

^a In the following passage, Mohammed endeavours to answer the objections of the Jews and Christians, who insisted that they ought to be judged, the former by the law of Moses, and the latter by the gospel. He allows that the law was the proper rule of judging till the coming of Jesus Christ, after which the gospel was the rule; but pretends that both are set aside by the revelation of the Korân, which is so far from being contradictory to either of the former, that it is more full and explicit; declaring several points which had been stifled, or corrupted therein, and requiring a rigorous execution of the precepts in both, which had been too remissly observed, or rather neglected, by the latter professors of those religions.

^{*} "But they fluctuate in doubt, and believe not."—*Savary*.

^b That is, notwithstanding their outward submission, they will not abide by thy sentence, though conformable to the law, if it contradict their own false and loose decisions.

^c As gainsaying the doctrine of the books, which they acknowledge for scripture.

^d That is, vigilant, to prevent any corruptions therein.

^e The original word is *soul*.

^f See Exod. xxi. 24, &c.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

and we gave him the gospel, containing direction and light ; confirming also the law which *was given* before it, and a direction and admonition unto those who fear *God*: that they who have received the gospel might judge according to what *GOD* hath revealed therein : and whoso judgeth not according to what *GOD* hath revealed, they are transgressors. We have also sent down unto thee the book of the *Korân* with truth, confirming that scripture which *was revealed* before it* ; and preserving the same safe *from corruption*. Judge therefore between them according to that which *GOD* hath revealed ; and follow not their desires, *by swerving* from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path ; and if *GOD* had pleased, he had surely made you one people^a ; but *he hath thought fit to give you different laws*, that he might try you in that which he hath given you *respectively*. Therefore strive to excel each other in good works : unto *GOD* shall ye all return, and *then* will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed. Wherefore *do thou, O prophet*, judge between them according to that which *GOD* hath revealed, and follow not their desires ; but beware of them, lest they cause thee to err^b from part of those *precepts* which *GOD* hath sent down unto thee ; and if they turn back^c, know that *GOD* is pleased to punish them for some of their crimes ; for a great number of men are transgressors. Do they therefore desire the

* “ We have sent thee down the book of truth, which confirmeth the scriptures that came before it, and beareth witness to them.”—*Savary*.

^a *i. e.* He had given you the same laws, which should have continued in force through all ages, without being abolished or changed by new dispensations ; or he could have forced you all to embrace the Mohammedan religion¹.

^b It is related, that certain of the Jewish priests came to Mohammed with a design to entrap him ; and having first represented to him, that if they acknowledged him for a prophet, the rest of the Jews would certainly follow their example, made this proposal ; that if he would give judgment for them in a controversy of moment which they pretended to have with their own people, and which was agreed to be referred to his decision, they would believe in him : but this Mohammed absolutely refused to comply with².

^c Or refuse to be judged by the *Korân*.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

judgment of *the time of ignorance*^a? but who is better than GOD, to judge between people who reason aright? O true believers, take not the Jews or Christians for *your* friends; they are friends the one to the other; but whoso among you taketh them for *his* friends, he is surely *one* of them: verily GOD directeth not unjust people. Thou shalt see those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, to hasten unto them, saying, We fear lest some adversity befall us^b; but it is easy for GOD to give victory, or a command from him^c, that they may repent of that which they concealed in their minds. And they who believe will say, Are these *the men* who have sworn by GOD, with a most firm oath, that they surely *held* with you^d? their works are become vain, and they are of those who perish. O true believers, whoever of you apostatizeth from his religion, GOD will certainly bring *other* people to supply his place^e,

^a That is, to be judged according to the customs of paganism, which indulge the passions and vicious appetites of mankind: for this, it seems, was demanded by the Jewish tribes of Koreidha and al Nadir¹.

^b These were the words of Ebn Obba, who, when Obâdah Ebn al Sâmât publicly renounced the friendship of the infidels, and professed that he took God and his apostle for his patrons, said that he was a man apprehensive of the fickleness of fortune, and therefore would not throw off his old friends, who might be of service to him hereafter².

^c To extirpate and banish the Jews; or to detect and punish the hypocrites.

^d These words may be spoken by the Mohammedans either to one another, or to the Jews: since these hypocrites had given their oaths to both³.

^e This is one of those accidents which, it is pretended, were foretold by the Korân long before they came to pass. For in the latter days of Mohammed, and after his death, considerable numbers of the Arabs quitted his religion, and returned to Paganism, Judaism, or Christianity. Al Beidâwi reckons them up in the following order. 1. Three companies of Banu Modlaj, seduced by Dhu'hamâr al Aswad al Ansi, who set up for a prophet in Yaman, and grew very powerful there⁴. 2. Banu Honeifa, who followed the famous false prophet Moseilama⁵. 3. Banu Asad, who acknowledged Toleiha Ebn Khowailed, another pretender to divine revelation⁶, for their prophet. All these fell off in Mohammed's lifetime. The following, except only the last, apostatized in the reign of Abu Becr. 4. Certain of the tribe of Fezârah, headed by Oyeyma Ebn Hosein. 5. Some of the tribe of Ghatfân, whose leader was Korrah Ebn Salma. 6. Banu Soleim, who followed al Fajâah Ebn Abd Yalil. 7. Banu Yarbu, whose captain was Malec Ebn Noweirah Ebn Kais. 8. Part of the tribe of Tamim, the proselytes of Sajâj the daughter of al Mondhar, who gave herself out for a prophetess⁷. 9. The tribe of Kendah, led by al Ashâth Ebn Kais. 10. Banu Becr Ebn al Wayel in the province of Bahrein, headed by al Hotam Ebn Zeid. And, 11. Some of the tribe of Ghassân, who, with their prince Jabalah Ebn al Aysham, renounced Mohammedism in the time of Omar, and returned to their former profession of Christianity⁸.

But as the persons who fulfilled the other part of this prophecy, by supplying

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

⁴ See the Prelim. Disc. § VIII.

⁵ See ib.

⁶ See ib.

⁷ See ib.

⁸ See ib. § I. p. 14.

whom he will love, and who will love him; *who shall be humble towards the believers*^{*}, but severe to the unbelievers: they shall fight for the religion of GOD, and shall not fear the obloquy of the detractor. This is the bounty of GOD, he bestoweth it on whom he pleaseth: GOD is extensive and wise. Verily your protector is GOD, and his apostle, and those who believe, who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and who bow down to *worship*. And whoso taketh GOD, and his apostle, and the believers for his friends, *they are the party of GOD, and they shall be victorious*. O true believers, take not such of those to whom the scriptures were delivered before you, or of the infidels, for your friends, who make a laughingstock, and a jest of your religion^a; but fear GOD, if ye be true believers; *nor those who*, when ye call to prayer, make a laughingstock and a jest of it^b; *this they do*, because they are people who do not understand. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, do ye reject us *for any other reason* than because we believe in GOD, and that *revelation* which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was formerly sent down, and for that the greater part of you are transgressors? Say, Shall I denounce unto you a worse *thing* than this, *as to the reward which ye are to*

the loss of so many renegates, the commentators are not agreed. Some will have them to be the inhabitants of Yaman, and others the Persians; the authority of Mohammed himself being vouched for both opinions. Others, however, suppose them to be two thousand of the tribe of al Nakhá (who dwelt in Yaman), five thousand of those of Kenda and Bajilah, and three thousand of unknown descent, who were present at the famous battle of Kadesia¹, fought in the Khalifat of Omar, and which put an end to the Persian empire².

* "If they are inferior to the believers, they shall be superior to the infidels."
—Savary.

^a This passage was primarily intended to forbid the Moslems entering into a friendship with two hypocrites named Refâa Ebn Zeid, and Soweid Ebn al Hareth, who though they had embraced Mohammedism, yet ridiculed it on all occasions, and were notwithstanding greatly beloved among the prophet's followers.

^b These words were added on occasion of a certain Christian, who hearing the Muadhhdhin, or crier, in calling to prayers, repeat this part of the usual form, *I profess that Mohammed is the apostle of God*, said aloud, *May God burn the liar*: but a few nights after his own house was accidentally set on fire by a servant, and himself and his family perished in the flames³.

¹ V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 226.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Idem.

expect with GOD *? He whom GOD hath cursed, and with whom he hath been angry, having changed *some* of them into apes and swine ^a, and *who* worship Taghut ^b, they *are* in the worse condition, and err more *widely* from the straitness of the path. When they came unto you, they said, We believe: yet they entered *into your company* with infidelity, and went forth *from you* with the same; but GOD well knew what they concealed. Thou shalt see many of them hastening unto iniquity and malice, and to eat things forbidden ^c; and wo *unto them* for what they have done. Unless *their* doctors and priests forbid them uttering wickedness, and eating things forbidden; wo *unto them* for what they shall have committed. The Jews say, The hand of GOD is tied up ^d. Their hands shall be tied up ^e, and they shall be cursed for that which they have said. Nay, his hands are both stretched forth; he bestoweth as he pleaseth: that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD ^f shall increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them; and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection. So often as they shall kindle a

* "What can I describe unto you more terrible than the vengeance which God hath exercised against you? He hath cursed you in his anger. Some of you hath he transformed into apes and into swine, because that ye have burned incense before idols, and that ye have been plunged into utter darkness."—*Savary*.

^a The former were the Jews of Ailah, who broke the sabbath ¹; and the latter those who believed not in the miracle of the Table which was let down from heaven to Jesus ². Some, however, imagine that the Jews of Ailah only are meant in this place, pretending that the young men among them were metamorphosed into apes, and the old men into swine ³.

^b See chap. 2. p. 45.

^c See before, p. 124.

^d That is, he is become niggardly and closefisted. These were the words of Phineas Ebn Azura (another indecent expression of whom, almost to the same purpose, is mentioned elsewhere ⁴), when the Jews were much impoverished by a dearth, which the commentators will have to be a judgment on them for their rejecting of Mohammed; and the other Jews who heard him, instead of reproving him, expressed their approbation of what he had said ⁵.

^e *i. e.* They shall be punished with want and avarice. The words may also allude to the manner wherein the reprobates shall appear at the last day, having their right hands tied up to their necks ⁶; which is the proper signification of the Arabic word.

^f *viz.* The Korân.

¹ See chap. 2. p. 12.

² See towards the end of this chapter.

³ Al

Beidâwi. ⁴ Chap. 3. p. 80.

⁵ Al Beidâwi.

⁶ See the Prelim.

Disc. § IV. p. 122.

fire for war, GOD shall extinguish it ^a; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but GOD loveth not the corrupt doers. Moreover, if they who have received the scriptures believe, and fear *God*, we will surely expiate their sins from them, and we will lead them into gardens of pleasure; and if they observe the law, and the gospel, and *the other scriptures* which have been sent down unto them from their LORD, they shall surely eat *of good things* both from above them, and from under their feet ^b. Among them there are people who act uprightly; but how evil is that which many of them do work! O apostle, publish *the whole* of that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD: for if thou do not, thou dost not *in effect* publish any part thereof ^c; and GOD will defend thee against *wicked men* ^d; for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, ye are not *grounded* on any thing, until ye observe the law and the gospel, and that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD. That which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD shall surely increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them: but be not thou solicitous for the unbelieving people. Verily they who believe, and those who judaize, and the Sabians, and the Christians, whoever *of them* believeth in GOD and the last day, and doth that which is right, *there shall come* no fear on

^a Either by raising feuds and quarrels among themselves, or by granting the victory to the Moslems. Al Beidāwi adds, that on the Jews neglecting the true observance of their law, and corrupting their religion, God has successively delivered them into the hands, first of Bakht Nāsir or Nebuchadnezzar, then of Titus the Roman, and afterwards of the Persians, and has now at last subjected them to the Mohammedans.

^b That is, they shall enjoy the blessings both of heaven and earth.

^c That is, if thou do not complete the publication of all thy revelations without exception, thou dost not answer the end for which they were revealed; because the concealing of any part renders the system of religion which God has thought fit to publish to mankind by thy ministry lame and imperfect ¹.

^d Until this verse was revealed, Mohammed entertained a guard of armed men for his security; but on his receiving this assurance of God's protection, he immediately dismissed them ².

¹ Al Beidāwi, Jallalo'ddin.

² Idem.

them, neither shall they be grieved^a. We formerly accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, and sent apostles unto them. So often as an apostle came unto them with that which their souls desired not, they accused some of them of imposture, and some of them they killed: and they imagined that there should be no punishment *for those crimes*, and they became blind, and deaf^b. Then was GOD turned unto them^c; afterwards many of them *again* became blind and deaf; but GOD saw what they did. They are surely infidels, who say, Verily GOD is Christ the son of Mary; since Christ said, O children of Israel, serve GOD, my LORD and your LORD; whoever shall give a companion unto GOD, GOD shall exclude him from paradise, and his habitation shall be *hell* fire; and the ungodly shall have none to help them. They are certainly infidels, who say, GOD is the third of three^d: for there is no GOD, besides one GOD; and if they refrain not from what they say, a painful torment shall surely be inflicted on such of them as are unbelievers. Will they not therefore be turned unto GOD, and ask pardon of him? since GOD is gracious *and* merciful. Christ the son of Mary is no more than an apostle; *other* apostles have preceded him; and his mother was a woman of veracity^e: they *both* ate food^f. Behold, how we declare unto them the signs *of God's unity*; and then behold, how they turn aside *from the truth*. Say unto them, Will ye worship, besides GOD, that which can cause you neither harm nor profit? GOD *is* he who heareth *and* seeth. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not *the just bounds* in your religion^g,

^a See chap. 2. p. 12.

^b Shutting their eyes and ears against conviction and the remonstrances of the law; as when they worshipped the calf.

^c i. e. Upon their repentance.

^d See chap. 4. p. 115.

^e Never pretending to partake of the divine nature, or to be the mother of God¹.

^f Being obliged to support their lives by the same means, and being subject to the same necessities and infirmities as the rest of mankind, and therefore no Gods².

^g See chap. 4. p. 114. But here the words are principally directed to the Christians.

¹ Jallâlo'ddin.

² Idem, Al Beidâwi.

by speaking beside the truth ; neither follow the desires of people who have heretofore erred, and who have seduced many, and have gone astray from the straight path^a. Those among the children of Israel who believed not were cursed by the tongue of David, and of Jesus the son of Mary^b. This *befel* them because they were rebellious and transgressed : they forbade not one another the wickedness which they committed ; and wo *unto them* for what they committed. Thou shalt see many of them take for their friends those who believe not. Wo *unto them* for what their souls have sent before them^c, for that GOD is incensed against them, and they shall remain in torment *for ever*. But, if they had believed in GOD, and the prophet, and that which hath been revealed unto him, they had not taken them for *their* friends ; but many of them are evil doers. Thou shalt surely find the most violent of *all* men in enmity against the true believers *to be* the Jews, and the idolaters : and thou shalt surely find those among them *to be* the most inclinable to *entertain* friendship for the true believers, who say, We are Christians. This *cometh to pass*, because there are priests and monks among them ; and because they are not elated with pride^d : * VII. and when they hear that which hath been sent down to the apostle *read unto them*, thou shalt see their eyes overflow with tears, because of the truth which they perceive *therein*^e, saying, O LORD, we believe ;

^a That is, of their prelates and predecessors, who erred in ascribing divinity to Christ, before the mission of Mohammed¹.

^b See before, p. 130. not. a.

^c See chap. 2. p. 17. not. e.

^d Having not that high conceit of themselves, as the Jews have ; but being humble and well disposed to receive the truth ; qualitics, says al Beidāwī, which are to be commended even in infidels.

^e The persons directly intended in this passage were, either Ashama, king of Ethiopia, and several bishops and priests, who, being assembled for that purpose, heard Jaafar Ebn Abi Taleb, who fled to that country in the first flight², read the 29th and 30th, and afterwards the 18th and 19th chapters of the Korān ; on hearing of which the king and the rest of the company burst into tears, and confessed what was delivered therein to be conformable to truth ; that prince himself, in particular,

¹ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidāwī.

² See the Prelim. Disc. p. 61.

write us down therefore with those who bear witness *to the truth*: and what *should hinder* us from believing in GOD, and the truth which hath come unto us, and from earnestly desiring that our LORD would introduce us *into paradise* with the righteous people? Therefore hath GOD rewarded them, for what they have said, with gardens through which rivers flow; they shall continue therein *for ever*; and this is the reward of the righteous. But they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they *shall be* the companions of hell. O true believers, forbid not the good things which GOD hath allowed you ^a; but transgress not, for GOD loveth not the transgressors. And eat of what GOD hath given you for food *that which is lawful and good*: and fear GOD, in whom ye believe. GOD will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths ^b; but he will punish you for what ye solemnly swear *with deliberation*. And the expiation of such *an oath shall be* the feeding of ten poor men with such moderate food as ye feed your own families withal; or to clothe them ^c; or to free the neck of a true believer from captivity: but he who shall not find *wherewith to perform one of these three things* shall fast three days ^d. This is the expiation of your oaths, when ye swear *inadvertently*. Therefore keep your

becoming a proselyte to Mohammedism ¹: or else, thirty, or as others say, seventy persons, sent ambassadors to Mohammed by the same king of Ethiopia, to whom the prophet himself read the thirty-sixth chapter, intitled Y. S. Whereupon they began to weep, saying, *How like is this to that which was revealed unto Jesus!* and immediately professed themselves Moslems ².

^a These words were revealed, when certain of Mohammed's companions agreed to oblige themselves to continual fasting and watching, and to abstain from women, eating flesh, sleeping on beds, and other lawful enjoyments of life, in imitation of some self-denying Christians; but this the prophet disapproved, declaring, that he would have no monks in his religion ³.

^b See chap. 2. p. 37.

^c The commentators give us the different opinions of the doctors, as to the quantity of food and clothes to be given in this case; which I think scarce worth transcribing.

^d That is, three days together, says Abu Hanifa. But this is not observed in practice, being neither explicitly commanded in the Korân, nor ordered in the Sonna ⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi, al Thalabi. V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 25, &c. Marracc. Prodr. ad Refut. Alcor. part. 1. p. 45.

² Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. V. Marracc. ubi

sup. ³ Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidâwi.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

oaths. Thus GOD declareth unto you his signs, that ye may give thanks. O true believers, surely wine, and lots^a, and images^b, and divining arrows^c, *are* an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper. Satan seeketh to sow dissension and hatred among you, by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from remembering GOD, and from prayer: will ye not therefore abstain *from them*? Obey GOD, and obey the apostle, and take heed *to yourselves*: but if ye turn back, know that the duty of our apostle is only to preach publicly^d. In those who believe and do good works, it is no sin that they have tasted *wine or gaming before they were forbidden*; if they fear God, and believe, and do good works, and *shall for the future fear God*, and believe, and *shall persevere to fear him*, and to do good^e; for GOD loveth those who do good. O true believers, GOD will surely prove you in *offering you plenty of game*, which ye may take with your hands or your lances^f, that GOD may know who feareth him in secret; but whoever transgresseth after this shall suffer a grievous punishment. O true believers, kill no game while ye are on

^a That is, all inebriating liquors, and games of chance. See the Prelim. Disc. § V. and chap. 2. p. 37.

^b Al Beidāwī and some other commentators expound this of idols; but others, with more probability, of the carved pieces, or men, with which the pagan Arabs played at chess, being little figures of men, elephants, horses, and dromedaries; and this is supposed to be the only thing which Mohammed disliked in that game: for which reason the Sonnites play with plain pieces of wood, or ivory; but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, still make use of the carved ones¹.

^c See the Prelim. Discourse, § V.

^d See *ibid.* § II. p. 66, &c.

^e The commentators endeavour to excuse the tautology of this passage, by supposing the threefold repetition of *fearing* and *believing* refers either to the three parts of time, past, present, and future, or to the threefold duty of man, towards God, himself, and his neighbour, &c.²

^f This temptation or trial was at al Hodeibiya, where Mohammed's men, who had attended him thither with an intent to perform a pilgrimage to the Caaba, and had initiated themselves with the usual rites, were surrounded by so great a number of birds and beasts, that they impeded their march; from which unusual accident, some of them concluded that God had allowed them to be taken; but this passage was to convince them of the contrary³.

¹ V. Prel. Disc. § V.

² Al Beidāwī.

³ *Idem*, Jallaio'adin.

pilgrimage^a; whosoever among you shall kill any designedly shall restore the like of what he shall have killed^{*}, in domestic animals^b, according to the determination of two just persons among you, to be brought as an offering to the Caaba; or in atonement thereof shall feed the poor; or instead thereof shall fast, that he may taste the heinousness of his deed. GOD hath forgiven what is past, but whoever returneth *to transgress*, GOD will take vengeance on him; for GOD is mighty *and* able to avenge. It is lawful for you to fish in the sea^c, and to eat *what ye shall catch*, as a provision for you and for those who travel; but it is unlawful for you to hunt by land, while ye are performing the rites of pilgrimage^d; therefore fear GOD, before whom ye shall be assembled *at the last day*. GOD hath appointed the Caaba, the holy house, an establishment^e for mankind; and *hath ordained* the sacred month^f, and the offering, and the ornaments hung *thereon*^g. This *hath he done* that ye might know that GOD knoweth whatsoever *is* in heaven and

^a Literally, *while ye are* Mohrim, or have actually initiated yourselves as pilgrims, by putting on the garment worn at that solemnity. Hunting and fowling are hereby absolutely forbidden to persons in this state; though they are allowed to kill certain kinds of noxious animals¹.

^{*} "He who violateth this prohibition shall be punished as though he had killed a domestic animal."—*Savary*.

^b That is, he shall bring an offering to the temple of Mecca, to be slain there and distributed among the poor, of some domestic or tame animal, equal in value to what he shall have killed; as a sheep, for example, in lieu of an antelope, a pigeon for a partridge, &c. And of this value two prudent persons were to be judges. If the offender was not able to do this, he was to give a certain quantity of food to one or more poor men; or, if he could not afford that, to fast a proportionable number of days².

^c This, says Jallalo'ddin, is to be understood of fish that live altogether in the sea, and not of those that live in the sea and on land both, as crabs, &c. The Turks, who are Hanifites, never eat this sort of fish; but the sect of Malec Ebn Ans, and perhaps some others, make no scruple of it.

^d See above, note a.

^e That is, the place where the practice of their religious ceremonies is chiefly established; where those who are under any apprehension of danger may find a sure *asylum*, and the merchant certain gain, &c.³

^f Al Beidâwi understands this of the month of Dhu'lhajja, wherein the ceremonies of the pilgrimage are performed; but Jallalo'ddin supposes all the four sacred months are here intended⁴.

^g See before, p. 116.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § V.

² Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidâwi.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ See the Prelim. Disc. § VII.

on earth, and that GOD is omniscient. Know that GOD is severe in punishing, and that GOD *is also* ready to forgive *and* merciful. The duty of our apostle is to preach only^a; and GOD knoweth that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal. Say, Evil and good shall not be equally esteemed of, though the abundance of evil pleaseth thee^b; therefore fear GOD, O ye of understanding, that ye may be happy. O true believers, inquire not concerning things, which, if they be declared unto you, may give you pain^c; but if ye ask concerning them when the Korân is sent down, they will be declared unto you: GOD pardoneth *you as to* these matters; for GOD is ready to forgive, *and* gracious. People who have been before you formerly inquired concerning them; and afterwards disbelieved therein. GOD hath not ordained *any thing* concerning Bahîra, nor Sâiba, nor Wasîla, nor Hâmi^d; but the unbelievers have invented a lie against GOD: and the greater part of them do not understand. And when it was said unto them, Come unto that which GOD hath revealed, and to the apostle; they answered, That *religion* which we found our fathers *to follow* is sufficient for us. What, though their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? O true believers, take care of your souls. He who erreth shall

^a See the Prelim. Discourse, § II. p. 66.

^b For judgment is to be made of things not from their plenty or scarcity, but from their intrinsic good or bad qualities¹.

^c The Arabs continually teasing their prophet with questions, which probably he was not always prepared to answer, they are here ordered to wait, till God should think fit to declare his pleasure, by some farther revelation: and, to abate their curiosity, they are told, at the same time, that very likely the answers would not be agreeable to their inclinations. Al Beidâwi says, that when the pilgrimage was first commanded, Sorâka Ebn Malec asked Mohammed whether they were obliged to perform it every year? To this question the prophet at first turned a deaf ear; but being asked it a second, and a third time, he at last said, *No: but if I had said yes, it would have become a duty, and if it were a duty, ye would not be able to perform it; therefore give me no trouble as to things wherein I give you none*: whereupon this passage was revealed.

^d These were the names given by the pagan Arabs to certain camels or sheep which were turned loose to feed, and exempted from common services, in some particular cases; having their ears slit, or some other mark, that they might be known; and this they did in honour of their gods². Which superstitions are here declared to be no ordinances of God, but the inventions of foolish men.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² See the Prelim. Disc. § V.

not hurt you, while ye are *rightly* directed^a: unto GOD shall ye all return, and he will tell you that which ye have done. O true believers, let witnesses be taken between you, when death approaches any of you, at the time of *making* the testament; *let there be two witnesses*, just men, from among you^b; or two others of *a different tribe or faith* from yourselves^c, if ye be journeying in the earth, and the accident of death befall you. Ye shall shut them both up, after the *afternoon* prayer^d, and they shall swear by GOD, if ye doubt *them*, and *they shall say*, We will not sell *our evidence* for a bribe, although *the person concerned* be one who is related to us, neither will we conceal the testimony of GOD, for then should we certainly be *of the number* of the wicked. But if it appear that both have been guilty of iniquity, two others shall stand up in their place, of those who have convicted them *of falsehood*, the two nearest in blood, and they shall swear by GOD, *saying*, Verily our testimony is more true than the testimony of these two, neither have we prevaricated; for *then* should we become *of the number* of the unjust. This will be easier, that *men* may give testimony according to the plain intention thereof, or fear lest a *different* oath be given, after their oath. Therefore fear GOD, and hearken; for GOD directeth not the unjust people^e. On a certain

This was revealed when the infidels reproached those who embraced Moham-medism and renounced their old idolatry, that by so doing they arraigned the wisdom of their forefathers¹.

^b That is, of your kindred, or religion.

^c They who interpret these words of persons of another religion say they are abrogated, and that the testimony of such ought not to be received against a Moslem².

^d In case there was any doubt, the witnesses were to be kept apart from company, lest they should be corrupted, till they gave their evidence, which they generally did when the afternoon prayer was over; because that was the time of people's assembling in public, or, say some, because the guardian angels then relieve each other, so that there would be four angels to witness against them if they gave false evidence. But others suppose they might be examined after the hour of any other prayer, when there was a sufficient assembly³.

^e The occasion of the preceding passage is said to have been this. Tamim al Dâri and Addi Ebn Yazid, both Christians, took a journey into Syria to trade, in company, with Bodeil, the freedman of Amru Ebn al As, who was a Moslem. When they came to Damascus, Bodeil fell sick, and died; having first wrote down

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

day^a shall GOD assemble the apostles, and shall say unto them, What answer was returned you, *when ye preached unto the people to whom ye were sent?* They shall answer, We have no knowledge, but thou art the knower of secrets^b. When GOD shall say, O Jesus son of Mary, remember my favour towards thee, and towards thy mother; when I strengthened thee with the holy spirit^c, that thou shouldest speak unto men in the cradle, and when thou wast grown up^d; and when I taught thee the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel; and when thou didst create of clay as it were the figure of a bird, by my permission, and didst breathe thereon, and it became a bird by my permission; and thou didst heal one blind from his birth, and the leper, by my permission; and when thou didst bring forth the dead *from their graves* by my permission^e; and when I withheld the children of Israel from *killing* thee^f, when thou hadst come unto them with evident *miracles*, and such of them as believed not said, This is nothing but manifest sorcery. And when I commanded the apostles of *Jesus saying*, Believe in me, and in my messenger; they answered, We do be-

a list of his effects on a piece of paper, which he hid in his baggage, without acquainting his companions with it, and desired them only to deliver what he had to his friends of the tribe of Sahm. The survivors however searching among his goods, found a vessel of silver of considerable weight, and inlaid with gold, which they concealed, and on their return delivered the rest to the deceased's relations; who finding the list of Bodeil's writing, demanded the vessel of silver of them, but they denied it; and the affair being brought before Mohammed, these words, *viz. O true believers take witnesses, &c.* were revealed, and he ordered them to be sworn at the pulpit in the mosque, just as afternoon prayer was over, and on their making oath that they knew nothing of the plate demanded, dismissed them. But afterwards the vessel being found in their hands, the Sahmites, suspecting it was Bodeil's, charged them with it, and they confessed it was his, but insisted that they had bought it of him, and that they had not produced it, because they had no proof of the bargain. Upon this they went again before Mohammed, to whom these words, *And if it appear, &c.* were revealed; and thereupon Amru Ebn al As and al Motalleb Ebn Abi Refaa, both of the tribe of Sahm, stood up, and were sworn against them; and judgment was given accordingly¹.

^a That is, on the day of judgment.

^b That is, We are ignorant whether our proselytes were sincere, or whether they apostatized after our deaths; but thou well knowest not only what answer they gave us, but the secrets of their hearts, and whether they have since continued firm in their religion or not.

^c See chap. 2, p. 16.
ibid. pp. 60, 61.

^d See chap. 3, p. 59.

^e See *ibid.*

^f See

¹ Al Beidâwi.

lieve; and do thou bear witness that we are resigned unto thee. Remember when the apostles said, O Jesus son of Mary, is thy LORD able to cause a table to descend unto us from heaven^a? He answered, Fear God, if ye be true believers. They said, We desire to eat thereof, and that our hearts may rest at ease, and that we may know that thou hast told us the truth, and that we may be witnesses thereof. Jesus the son of Mary said, O GOD our LORD, cause a table to descend unto us from heaven, that *the day of its descent* may become a festival day^b unto us, unto the first of us, and unto the last of us, and a sign from thee; and do thou provide food for us, for thou art the best provider. GOD said, Verily I will cause it to descend unto you; but whoever among you shall disbelieve hereafter, I will surely punish him with a punishment,

^a This miracle is thus related by the commentators. Jesus having, at the request of his followers, asked it of God, a red table immediately descended, in their sight, between two clouds, and was set before them; whereupon he rose up, and having made the ablution, prayed, and then took off the cloth which covered the table, saying, *In the name of God, the best provider of food.* What the provisions were, with which this table was furnished, is a matter wherein the expositors are not agreed. One will have them to be nine cakes of bread, and nine fishes; another, bread and flesh; another, all sorts of food except flesh; another, all sorts of food, except bread and flesh; another, all except bread and fish; another, one fish which had the taste of all manner of food; and another, fruits of paradise: but the most received tradition is, that when the table was uncovered, there appeared a fish ready drest, without scales or prickly fins, dropping with fat, having salt placed at its head, and vinegar at its tail, and round it all sorts of herbs, except leeks, and five loaves of bread, on one of which there were olives, on the second honey, on the third butter, on the fourth cheese, and on the fifth dried flesh. They add, that Jesus, at the request of the apostles, showed them another miracle, by restoring the fish to life, and causing its scales and fins to return to it; at which the standers-by being affrighted, he caused it to become as it was before: that one thousand three hundred men and women, all afflicted with bodily infirmities or poverty, ate of these provisions, and were satisfied; the fish remaining whole as it was at first: that then the table flew up to heaven in the sight of all; and every one who had partaken of this food were delivered from their infirmities and misfortunes: and that it continued to descend for forty days together, at dinner-time, and stood on the ground till the sun declined, and was then taken up into the clouds. Some of the Mohammedan writers are of opinion that this table did not really descend, but that it was only a parable; but most think the words of the Koran are plain to the contrary. A further tradition is, that several men were changed into swine for disbelieving this miracle, and attributing it to magic art; or, as others pretend, for stealing some of the victuals from off it¹. Several other fabulous circumstances are also told, which are scarce worth transcribing².

^b Some say the table descended on a Sunday, which was the reason of the Christians observing that day as sacred. Others pretend this day is still kept among them as a very great festival: and it seems as if the story had its rise from an imperfect notion of Christ's last supper, and the institution of the Eucharist.

¹ Al Beidâwi, al Thalabi.

² V. Marracc. in Alc. p. 238, &c.

wherewith I will not punish any other creature. And when GOD shall say *unto Jesus, at the last day*, O Jesus son of Mary, hast thou said unto men, Take me and my mother for two gods, beside GOD? He shall answer, Praise be unto thee! it is not for me to say that which I ought not; if I had said so, thou wouldest surely have known it: thou knowest what is in me, but I know not what is in thee; for thou art the knower of secrets. I have not spoken to them *any other* than what thou didst command me; *namely*, Worship GOD, my LORD and your LORD: and I was a witness *of their actions* while I staid among them; but since thou hast taken me to thyself^a, thou hast been the watcher over them; for thou art witness of all things. If thou punish them, they are surely thy servants; and if thou forgive them, thou art mighty *and* wise. GOD will say, This day shall their veracity be of advantage unto those who speak truth; they shall have gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein for ever: GOD hath been well pleased in them, and they have been well pleased in him. This *shall be* great felicity. Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth, and of whatever therein is; and he is almighty.

^a Or, *since thou hast caused me to die*; but as it is a dispute among Moham-medans whether Christ actually died or not, before his assumption¹, and the original may be translated either way, I have chosen the former expression, which leaves the matter undecided.

¹ See chap. 3, p. 61.

CHAPTER VI.

Intituled, Cattle^a: revealed at Mecca^b.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

PRAISE be unto GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath ordained the darkness and the light; nevertheless they who believe not in the LORD equalize *other gods with him*. It is he who hath created you of clay; and then decreed the term *of your lives*; and the prefixed term is with him^c: yet do ye doubt *thereof*. He is GOD in heaven and in earth; he knoweth what ye keep secret, and what ye publish, and knoweth what ye deserve. There came not unto them any sign, of the signs of their LORD, but they retired from the same; and they have gainsaid the truth, after that it hath come unto them: but a message shall come unto them, concerning that which they have mocked at^d. Do they not consider how many generations we have destroyed before them? We had established them in the earth in a manner wherein we have not established you^e; we sent the heaven to rain abundantly upon them, and we gave *them* rivers which

^a This chapter is so intituled, because some superstitious customs of the Meccans, as to certain cattle, are therein incidentally mentioned.

^b Except only six verses, or, say others, three verses, which are taken notice of in the notes.

^c By the last term some understand the time of the resurrection. Others think that by the first term is intended the space between creation and death, and by the latter, that between death and the resurrection.

^d That is, they shall be convinced of the truth which they have made a jest of, when they see the punishment which they shall suffer for so doing, both in this world and the next; or when they shall see the glorious success of Mohammedism.

^e *i. e.* We had blessed them with greater power and length of prosperity than we have granted you, O men of Mecca¹. Mohammed seems here to mean the ancient and potent tribes of Ad, and Thamud, &c.²

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² See the Prelim. Disc. § I. p. 7, &c.

flowed under *their feet*: yet we destroyed them in their sins, and raised up other generations after them. Although we had caused to descend unto thee a book *written* on paper, and they had handled it with their hands, the unbelievers had surely said, This *is* no other than manifest sorcery*. They said, Unless an angel be sent down unto him, *we will not believe*. But if we had sent down an angel, verily the matter had been decreed^a, and they should not have been borne with, *by having time granted them to repent*. And if we had appointed an angel *for our messenger*, we should have sent him *in the form of a man*^b, and have clothed him before them, as they are clothed. Other apostles have been laughed to scorn, before thee, but *the judgment* which they made a jest of encompassed those who laughed them to scorn. Say, Go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those, who accused *our prophets* of imposture. Say, Unto whom *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and earth? Say, Unto GOD. He hath prescribed unto himself mercy. He will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it. They who destroy their own souls *are those who* will not believe. Unto him *is owing* whatsoever happeneth by night or by day†; *it is* he who heareth and knoweth. Say, Shall I take any other protector than GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, who feedeth *all* and is not fed *by any*? Say, Verily I am commanded to be the first who professeth Islam^c, and *it was said unto me*, Thou shalt by no means be *one* of the idolaters. Say, Verily

* "It is an imposture."—*Savary*.

^a That is to say, As they would not have believed, even if an angel had descended to them from heaven, God has shown his mercy in not complying with their demands; for if he had, they would have suffered immediate condemnation, and would have been allowed no time for repentance.

^b As Gabriel generally appeared to Mohammed; who, though a prophet, was not able to bear the sight of him when he appeared in his proper form, much less would others be able to support it.

† "He possesseth all that night veileth, all that day enlighteneth. He knoweth and heareth all things."—*Savary*.

^c That is, the first of my nation¹.

I fear, if I should rebel against my LORD, the punishment of the great day: from whomsoever it shall be averted on that day, *God* will have been merciful unto him; this *will be* manifest salvation. If GOD afflict thee with any hurt, there is none who can take it off *from thee*, except himself; but if he cause good to befall thee, he is almighty; he is the supreme *Lord* over his servants; and he *is* wise *and* knowing. Say, What thing is the strongest in bearing testimony^a? Say, GOD; *he is* witness between me and you. And this Korân was revealed unto me, that I should admonish you thereby, and *also* those unto whom it shall reach. Do ye really profess that there are other gods together with GOD? Say, I do not profess *this*. Say, Verily he is one GOD; and I am guiltless of what ye associate *with him*. They unto whom we have given the scripture know *our apostle*, even as they know their own children^b; *but* they who destroy their own souls will not believe. Who is more unjust than he who inventeth a lie against GOD^c, or chargeth his signs with imposture? Surely the unjust shall not prosper. And on the day of *resurrection* we will assemble them all; then will we say unto those who associated *others with God*, Where are your companions^d, whom ye imagined *to be those of God*? But they shall have no other excuse, than that they shall say, By GOD our LORD, we have not been idolaters. Behold, how they lie against themselves, and what they have *blasphemously* imagined *to be the companion of God* flieth from them^e. There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee

^a This passage was revealed when the Koreish told Mohammed that they had asked the Jews and Christians concerning him, who assured them they found no mention or description of him in their books of scripture; *Therefore*, said they, *who bears witness to thee, that thou art the apostle of God*?¹

^b See chap. 2, p. 25.

^c Saying the angels are the daughters of God, and intercessors for us with him, &c.²

^d i. e. Your idols and false gods.

^e That is, their imaginary deities prove to be nothing, and disappear like vain phantoms and chimæras.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

² Al Beidâwi.

when thou readest the Koran^a; but we have cast veils over their hearts, that they should not understand it, and a deafness in their ears: and though they should see all *kinds of signs*, they will not believe therein; *and their infidelity will arrive to that height* that they will even come unto thee, to dispute with thee. The unbelievers will say, This is nothing but silly fables of ancient times. And they will forbid *others* from *believing therein*, and will retire afar off from it; but they will destroy their own souls only, and they are not sensible *thereof*. If thou didst see, when they shall be set over the fire *of hell*! and they shall say, Would to GOD we might be sent back *into the world*; we would not charge the signs of our LORD with imposture, and we would become true believers: nay, but that is become manifest unto them, which they formerly concealed^b; and though they should be sent back *into the world*, they would surely return to that which was forbidden them; and they are surely liars. And they said, There is no *other life* than our present life; neither shall we be raised again. But if thou couldst see, when they shall be set before their LORD^c! He shall say *unto them*, Is not this in truth *come to pass*? They shall answer, Yea, by our LORD. God shall say, Taste therefore the punishment *due unto you*, for that ye have disbelieved. They are lost who reject as a falsehood the meeting of GOD *in the next life*, until the hour^d cometh suddenly upon them. *Then will they say*, Alas! for that we have behaved ourselves negligently in *our lifetime*; and they shall carry their

^a The persons here meant were Abu Sofîân al Walid, al Nodar, Otha, Abu Jahl, and their comrades, who went to hear Mohammed repeat some of the Korân; and Nodar being asked what he said, answered, with an oath, that he knew not, only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of foolish stories, as he had done to them¹.

^b viz. Their hypocrisy and vile actions: nor does their promise proceed from any sincere intention of amendment, but from the anguish and misery of their condition².

^c viz. In order for judgment.

^d The last day is here called *the Hour*, as it is in scripture³; and the preceding expression of *meeting* God on that day is also agreeable to the same⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ 1 John v. 25, &c.

⁴ 1 Thes. iv. 17.

burthens on their backs^a; will it not be evil which they shall be loaden with? This present life is no other than a play and a vain amusement; but surely the future mansion *shall be* better for those who fear God: will they not therefore understand? Now we know that what they speak grieveth thee: yet they do not accuse thee of falsehood; but the ungodly contradict the signs of GOD^b. And apostles before thee have been accounted liars: but they patiently bore their being accounted liars, and their being vexed, until our help came unto them; for there is none who can change the words of GOD: and thou hast received some information concerning those who have been *formerly sent from him*^c. If their aversion to thy *admonitions* be grievous unto thee, if thou canst seek out a den *whereby thou mayest penetrate into the inward parts of the earth*, or a ladder *by which thou mayest ascend into heaven*, that thou mayest show them a sign, *do so, but thy search will be fruitless*; for if GOD pleased he would bring them all to the *true direction*: be not therefore *one of the ignorant*^d. He will give a favourable answer unto those only who shall hearken

^a When an infidel comes forth from his grave, says Jallalo'ddin, his works shall be represented to him under the ugliest form that ever he beheld, having a most deformed countenance, a filthy smell, and a disagreeable voice: so that he shall cry out, *God defend me from thee, what art thou?* I never saw any thing more detestable! To which the figure will answer, *Why dost thou wonder at my ugliness?* I am thy evil works¹; thou didst ride upon me, while thou wast in the world, but now will I ride upon thee, and thou shalt carry me. And immediately it shall get upon him; and whatever he shall meet shall terrify him, and say, *Hail, thou enemy of God, thou art he who was meant by* (these words of the Koran) *and they shall carry their burthens, &c*².

^b That is, it is not thou but God whom they injure by their impious gainsaying of what has been revealed to thee. It is said that Abu Jahl once told Mohammed, that they did not accuse him of falsehood, because he was known to be a man of veracity, but only they did not believe the revelations which he brought them; which occasioned this passage³.

^c *i. e.* Thou hast been acquainted with the stories of several of the preceding prophets; what persecutions they suffered from those to whom they were sent, and in what manner God supported them and punished their enemies, according to his unalterable promise⁴.

^d In this passage Mohammed is reproved for his impatience, in not bearing with the obstinacy of his countrymen, and for his indiscreet desire of effecting what God hath not decreed, namely, the conversion and salvation of all men⁵.

¹ See Milton's Paradise Lost, book II. v. 737, &c.

² See also ch. 3, p. 77.

³ Al Beidawi.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ Idem.

with attention: and GOD will raise the dead; then unto him shall they return. The *infidels* say, Unless some sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*: answer, Verily GOD is able to send down a sign: but the greater part of them know *it* not^a. There is no *kind of* beast on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but *the same is* a people like unto you^b; we have not omitted any thing in the book^c *of our decrees**: then unto their LORD shall they return^d. They who accuse our signs of falsehood *are* deaf and dumb, *walking* in darkness: GOD will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and whom he pleaseth he will put in the right way. Say, What think ye? if the punishment of GOD come upon you, or the hour *of the resurrection* come upon you, will ye call upon any other than GOD, if ye speak truth? yea, him shall ye call upon, and he shall free *you* from that which ye shall ask him *to deliver you from*, if he pleaseth; and ye shall forget that which ye associated *with him*^e. We have already sent *messengers* unto *sundry* nations before thee, and we afflicted them with trouble and adversity that they might humble themselves: yet when the affliction *which we sent* came upon them, they did not humble themselves; but their hearts became hardened †, and Satan prepared for them that which they committed. And when they had for-

^a Being both ignorant of God's almighty power, and of the consequence of what they ask, which might prove their utter destruction.

^b Being created and preserved by the same omnipotence and providence as ye are.

^c That is, in the *preserved table*, wherein God's decrees are written, and all things which come to pass in the world, as well the most minute as the more momentous, are exactly registered¹.

* "The beasts which cover the earth, the birds which traverse the air, are creatures like yourselves. All are written in the book. They will appear again before him."—*Savary*.

^d For, according to the Mohammedan belief, the irrational animals will also be restored to life at the resurrection, that they may be brought to judgment, and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another while in this world².

^e That is, Ye shall then forsake your false gods, when ye shall be effectually convinced that God alone is able to deliver you from eternal punishment. But others rather think that this forgetting will be the effect of the distress and terror which they will then be in³.

† "Their hearts grew hard, and Satan caused them to find charms in rebellion."—*Savary*.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 142.

² See ib. p. 118.

³ Al Beidâwi.

gotten that concerning which they had been admonished, we opened unto them the gates of all things^a; until, while they were rejoicing for that which had been given them, we suddenly laid hold on them, and behold, they *were* seized with despair; and the utmost part of the people which had acted wickedly was cut off: praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Say, What think ye? if GOD should take away your hearing and your sight, and should seal up your hearts; What god besides GOD will restore them unto you? See how variously we show forth the signs of *God's unity*^b; yet do they turn aside *from them*. Say unto *them*, What think ye? if the punishment of GOD come upon you suddenly, or in open view^c; will *any* perish, except the ungodly people? We send not *our* messengers otherwise than bearing good tidings and denouncing threats. Whoso therefore shall believe and amend, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved: but whoso shall accuse our signs of falsehood, a punishment shall fall on them, because they have done wickedly. Say, I say not unto you, The treasures of GOD are in my power: neither *do I say*, I know the secrets of *God*: neither do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel: I follow only that which is revealed unto me. Say, Shall the blind and the seeing be held equal? do ye not therefore consider? Preach it unto those who fear that they shall be assembled before their LORD: they shall have no patron nor intercessor, except him; that peradventure they may take heed to themselves. Drive not away those who call upon their LORD morning and evening, desiring *to see his face*^d; it belongeth not unto thee to pass any

^a That is, we gave them all manner of plenty; that since they took no warning by their afflictions, their prosperity might become a snare to them, and they might bring down upon themselves swifter destruction.

^b Laying them before you in different views, and making use of arguments and motives drawn from various considerations.

^c That is, says al Beidâwi, either without any previous notice, or after some warning given.

^d These words were occasioned when the Koreish desired Mohammed not to admit the poor or more inferior people, such as Ammâr, Soheib, Khobbâb, and Salmân, into his company, pretending that then they would come and discourse with him;

judgment on them^a, nor doth it belong unto them to pass any judgment on thee: therefore *if* thou drive them away, thou wilt become *one* of the unjust. Thus have we proved some part of them by other part, that they may say, Are these *the people* among us unto whom GOD hath been gracious^b? Doth not GOD most truly know *those who are* thankful? And when they who believe in our signs shall come unto thee, say, Peace *be* upon you. Your LORD hath prescribed unto himself mercy; so that whoever among you worketh evil through ignorance, and afterwards repenteth and amendeth; *unto him will* he surely *be* gracious and merciful. Thus have we distinctly propounded *our* signs, that the path of the wicked might be made known. Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship *the false deities* which ye invoke, besides GOD. Say, I will not follow your desires; for then should I err, neither should I be *one of those who are rightly* directed. Say, I *behave* according to the plain declaration *which I have received* from my LORD; but ye have forged lies concerning him. That which ye desire should be hastened, is not in my power^c: judgment *belongeth* only unto GOD; he will determine the truth; and he is the best discerner. Say, If what ye desire should be hastened were in my power, the matter had been determined between me and you^d:

but he refusing to turn away any believers, they insisted at least that he should order them to rise up and withdraw when they came, which he agreed to do. Others say, that the chief men of Mecca expelled all the poor out of their city, bidding them go to Mohammed; which they did, and offered to embrace his religion; but he made some difficulty to receive them, suspecting their motive to be necessity, and not real conviction¹; whereupon this passage was revealed.

^a *i. e.* Rashly to decide whether their intentions be sincere or not; since thou canst not know their heart, and their faith may possibly be more firm than that of those who would persuade thee to discard them.

^b That is to say, the noble by those of mean extraction, and the rich by the poor; in that God chose to call the latter to the faith before the former².

^c This passage is an answer to the audacious defiance of the infidels, who bid Mohammed, if he were a true prophet, to call for a shower of stones from heaven, or some other sudden and miraculous punishment, to destroy them³.

^d For I should ere now have destroyed you, out of zeal for God's honour, had it been in my power⁴.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

² Ibidem.

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ Idem.

but God well knoweth the unjust. With him are the keys of the secret *things*; none knoweth them besides himself: he knoweth that which is on the dry land and in the sea; there falleth no leaf, but he knoweth it; neither *is there* a single grain in the dark parts of the earth, neither a green thing, nor a dry thing, but it is *written* in the perspicuous book^a. It is he who causeth you to sleep by night, and knoweth what ye merit by day; he also awaketh you therein, that the prefixed term *of your lives* may be fulfilled: then unto him shall ye return, and he shall declare unto you that which ye have wrought. He is supreme over his servants, and sendeth the guardian *angels* to watch over you^b, until, when death overtaketh one of you, our messengers^c cause him to die: and they will not neglect *our commands*. Afterwards shall they return unto GOD, their true LORD: doth not judgment *belong* unto him? he is the most quick in taking an account^d. Say, Who delivereth you from the darkness^e of the land, and of the sea, *when* ye call upon him humbly and in private, *saying*, Verily if thou deliver us^f from these *dangers*, we will surely be thankful? Say, God delivereth you from them, and from every grief of mind; *yet* afterwards ye give *him* companions^g. Say, He is able to send on you a punishment from above you^h, or from under your feetⁱ, or to engage you in dissension, and to make some of you taste the violence of others. Observe how variously we show forth *our* signs, that peradventure

^a *i. e.* The preserved table, or register of God's decrees.

^b See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 120, 121.

^c That is, the angel of death and his assistants¹.

^d See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 121, 122.

^e That is, the dangers and distresses.

^f The Cufic copies read it in the third person, *if he deliver us*, &c.

^g Returning to your old idolatry.

^h That is, by storms from heaven, as he destroyed the unbelieving people of Noah, and of Lot, and the army of Abraha, the lord of the elephant².

ⁱ Either by drowning you, as he did Pharaoh and his host, or causing the earth to open and swallow you up, as happened to Korah, or (as the Mohammedans name him) Karun³.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 98.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Idem.

they may understand. This people hath accused the *revelation which thou hast brought* of falsehood, although it be the truth. Say, I am not a guardian over you : every prophecy hath its fixed time of *accomplishment* ; and ye will hereafter know it. When thou seest those who are engaged in *cavilling at, or ridiculing* our signs ; depart from them, until they be engaged in some other discourse* : and if Satan cause thee to forget *this precept*, do not sit with the ungodly people, after recollection. They who fear God are not at all accountable for them, but *their duty is* to remember, that they may take heed to themselves^a. Abandon those who make their religion a sport and a jest ; and whom the present life hath deceived : and admonish *them by the Korân*, that a soul becometh liable to destruction for that which it committeth : it shall have no patron nor intercessor besides GOD ; and if it could pay the utmost price of redemption, it would not be accepted from it. They who are delivered over to perdition for that which they have committed shall have boiling water to drink, and shall suffer a grievous punishment, because they have disbelieved. Say, Shall we call upon that, besides GOD, which can neither profit us, nor hurt us ? and shall we turn back on our heels, after that GOD hath directed us ; like him whom the devils have infatuated, wandering amazedly in the earth, *and yet* having companions who call him to the *true* direction, *saying*, Come unto us ? Say, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction : we are commanded to resign ourselves unto the LORD of all creatures ; and *it is also commanded us, saying*, Observe the stated times of prayer, and fear him ; for

* “ Fly from those who revile religion, until they change their discourse.”—*Savary*.

^a And therefore need not be troubled at the indecent and impious talk of the infidels ; provided they take care not to be infected by them. When the preceding passage was revealed, the Moslems told their prophet, that if they were obliged to rise up whenever the idolaters spoke irreverently of the Korân, they could never sit quietly in the temple, nor perform their devotions there ; whereupon these words were added¹.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

it is he before whom ye shall be assembled. It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in truth; and whenever he saith *unto a thing*, Be, it is. His word is the truth; and his will be the kingdom on the day whereon the trumpet shall be sounded^a: he knoweth whatever is secret, and whatever is public; he is the wise, the knowing. *Call to mind* when Abraham said unto his father Azer^b, Dost thou take images for gods^c? Verily I perceive that thou and thy people *are* in a manifest error. And thus did we show unto Abraham the kingdom of heaven and earth, that he might become *one* of those who firmly believe^d. And when

^a See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 98, and 113, &c.

^b This is the name which the Mohammedans give to Abraham's father, named in scripture Terah. However some of their writers pretend that Azer was the son of Terah¹, and D'Herbelot says that the Arabs always distinguish them in their genealogies as different persons; but that because Abraham was the son of Terah according to Moses, it is therefore supposed (by European writers) that Terah is the same with the Azer of the Arabs². How true this observation may be, in relation to some authors, I cannot say, but I am sure it cannot be true of all; for several Arab and Turkish writers expressly make Azer and Terah the same person³. Azer, in ancient times, was the name of the planet Mars, and the month of March was so called by the most ancient Persians; for the word originally signifying *fire* (as it still does), it was therefore given by them and the Chaldeans to that planet⁴, which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the Chaldeans and Assyrians as a god or planetary deity, whom in old times they worshipped under the form of a pillar: whence Azer became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods⁵, and is found in the composition of several Babylonish names. For these reasons a learned author supposes Azer to have been the heathen name of Terah, and that the other was given him on his conversion⁶. Al Beidāwi confirms this conjecture, saying that Azer was the name of the idol which he worshipped. It may be observed that Abraham's father is also called Zarah in the Talmud, and Athar by Eusebius. (The surname of Azer was given to him in consequence of his idolatry. It is derived from *iazar*, "O thou who art in error." — *Savary*.)

^c That Azer or Terah was an idolater, is allowed on all hands; nor can it be denied, since he is expressly said in scripture to have served strange gods⁷. The eastern authors unanimously agree that he was a statuary, or carver of idols; and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before⁸, and taught that they were to be adored as gods⁹. However we are told his employment was a very honourable one¹⁰, and that he was a great lord, and in high favour with Nimrod, whose son-in-law he was¹¹, because he made his idols for him, and was excellent in his art. Some of the Rabbins say Terah was a priest, and chief of the order¹².

^d That is, we gave him a right apprehension of the government of the world and of the heavenly bodies, that he might know them all to be ruled by God, by putting him on making the following reflections.

¹ Tarikh Montakhab, apud D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 12.

² D'Herbel. *ibid*.

³ Al Beidāwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, Ebn Shohnah, Mirat Kainat, &c. V. etiam Pharhang Jehanghiri, apud Hyde de Rel. Vet. Persar. p. 68.

⁴ Hyde, *ibid*. p. 63.

⁵ Idem, *ib*. p. 64.

⁶ Idem, *ibid*. p. 62.

⁷ Josh. xxiv. 2, 14.

⁸ Epiphanius.

⁹ Suidas in Lexico, voce Στεργύχ.

¹⁰ V. Hyde, *ubi*

supra, p. 63.

¹¹ D'Herbel. *ubi sup*.

¹² Shalshele hakkab. p. 94.

the night overshadowed him, he saw a star, *and* he said, This is my LORD^a; but when it set, he said, I like not *gods* which set. And when he saw the moon rising, he said, This is my LORD; but when he saw it set, he said, Verily if my LORD direct me not, I shall become *one* of the people who go astray. And when he saw the sun rising, he said, This is my LORD, this is the greatest; but when it set, he said, O my people, verily I am clear of that which ye associate *with God*: I direct my face unto him who hath created the heavens and the earth; *I am* orthodox, and am not *one* of the idolaters. And his people disputed with him: *and* he said, Will ye dispute with me concerning GOD? since he hath now directed me, and I fear not that which ye associate *with him*, unless that my LORD willeth a thing; *for* my LORD comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge^b: will ye not therefore con-

* Since Abraham's parents were idolaters, it seems to be a necessary consequence that himself was one also in his younger years; the scripture not obscurely intimates as much¹; and the Jews themselves acknowledge it². At what age he came to the knowledge of the true God and left idolatry, opinions are various. Some Jewish writers tell us, he was then but three years old³, and the Mohammedans likewise suppose him very young, and that he asked his father and mother several shrewd questions when a child⁴. Others however allow him to have been a middle-aged man at that time⁵. Maimonides, in particular, and R. Abraham Zacuth think him to have been forty years old, which age is also mentioned in the Korân. But the general opinion of the Mohammedans is, that he was about fifteen or sixteen⁶. As the religion wherein Abraham was educated was the Sabian, which consisted chiefly in the worship of the heavenly bodies⁷, he is introduced examining their nature and properties, to see whether they had a right to the worship which was paid them or not; and the first which he observed was the planet Venus, or, as others will have it, Jupiter⁸. This method of Abraham's attaining to the knowledge of the supreme Creator of all things is conformable to what Josephus writes, *viz.* That he drew his notions from the changes which he had observed in the earth and the sea, and in the sun and the moon, and the rest of the celestial bodies; concluding that they were subject to the command of a superior power, to whom alone all honour and thanks are due⁹. The story itself is certainly taken from the Talmud¹⁰. Some of the commentators however suppose this reasoning of Abraham with himself was not the first means of his conversion, but that he used it only by way of argument to convince the idolaters among whom he then lived.

^b That is, I am not afraid of your false gods, which cannot hurt me, except God permitteth it, or is pleased to afflict me himself.

¹ V. Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, and Hyde, ubi sup. p. 59. ² Joseph. Ant. l. 1, c. 7. Maimon. More Nev. part 3. c. 29, et Yad Hazzak, de Id. c. 1, &c. ³ Tanchuma, Talmud, Nedarim, 32, 1, et apud Maimon. Yad Hazz. ubi sup. ⁴ V. D'Herbel. Bibl. O. ient. Art. Abraham.

⁵ Maimon. ubi sup. R. Abr. Zacuth in Sefer Juchasin, Shalshel. hakkab, &c. ⁶ V. Hyde, ubi sup. p. 60, 61. et Hotting. Sinegma Orient. p. 290, &c. Genebr. in Chron. ⁷ See the Prelim. Disc. § I. p. 19. ⁸ Al Beidâwi. ⁹ Joseph. Ant. l. 1, c. 7. ¹⁰ R. Bechai, in Midrash. V. Bartolocc. Bibl. Rabb. part 1, p. 640.

sider? And how should I fear that which ye associate *with God*, since ye fear not to have associated with GOD that concerning which he hath sent down unto you no authority? which therefore of the two parties is the more safe, if ye understand *aright*? They who believe, and clothe not their faith with injustice^a, they shall enjoy security, and they *are rightly* directed. And this is our argument wherewith we furnished Abraham *that he might make use of it* against his people: we exalt unto degrees of wisdom and knowledge whom we please; for thy LORD is wise and knowing. And we gave unto him Isaac and Jacob; we directed *them* both: and Noah had we before directed, and of his posterity^b David and Solomon; and Job^c, and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron: thus do we reward the righteous: and Zacharias, and John, and Jesus, and Elias^d; all of *them were* upright men: and Ismael, and Elisha^e, and Jonas^f, and Lot^g; all *these* have we favoured above *the rest of* the world; and *also divers* of their fathers, and their issue, and their brethren; and we chose them, and directed them into the right way. This is the direction of God, he directeth thereby such of his servants as he pleaseth; but if they had been guilty of idolatry, that which they wrought would have become utterly fruitless unto them. Those *were the persons* unto whom we gave the scripture, and wisdom, and prophecy; but if these^h believe not therein, we will commit the care of them

^a By injustice, in this place, the commentators understand idolatry, or open rebellion against God.

^b Some refer the relative *his* to Abraham, the person chiefly spoken of in this passage; some to Noah, the next antecedent, because Jonas and Lot were not (say they) of Abraham's seed: and others suppose the persons named in this and the next verse are to be understood as the descendants of Abraham, and those in the following verse as those of Noah¹.

^c The Mohammedans say he was of the race of Esau. See chap. 21, and 38.

^d See chap. 37.

^e This prophet was the successor of Elias, and as the commentators will have it, the son of Okhtûb; though the scripture makes him the son of Shaphat.

^f See chap. 10, 21, and 37.

^g See chap. 7, &c.

^h That is, the Koreish².

to a people who shall not disbelieve the same. Those *were the persons* whom GOD hath directed, therefore follow their direction. Say *unto the inhabitants of Mecca*, I ask of you no recompense for *preaching the Koran*; it is no other than an admonition unto *all* creatures. They make not a due estimation of GOD^a, when they say, GOD hath not sent down unto man any thing at all^b: Say, Who sent down the book which Moses brought, a light and a direction unto men; which ye transcribe on papers, whereof ye publish *some part*, and great part *whereof* ye conceal? and ye have been taught *by Mohammed* what ye knew not, neither your fathers. Say, GOD *sent it down*: then leave them to amuse themselves with their vain discourse. This book which we have sent down *is* blessed; confirming that which was *revealed* before it; and *is delivered unto thee* that thou mayest preach *it* unto the metropolis of *Mecca* and to those who are round about it. And they who believe in the next life will believe therein, and they will diligently observe their *times of prayer*. Who is more wicked than he who forgeth a lie concerning GOD^c? or saith, *This* was revealed unto me; when nothing hath been revealed unto him^d? and who saith, I will produce

^a That is, they know him not truly, nor have just notions of his goodness and mercy towards man. The persons here meant, according to some commentators, are the Jews, and according to others, the idolaters¹.

This verse and the two next, as Jallalo'ddin thinks, were revealed at Medina.

^b By these words the Jews (if they were the persons meant) chiefly intended to deny the Koran to be of divine revelation: though they might in strictness insist that God never revealed, or *sent down*, as the Koran expresses it, any real composition or material writing from heaven, in the manner that Mohammed pretended his revelation were delivered², if we except only the decalogue; God having left to the inspired penmen, not only the labour of writing, but the liberty, in a great measure at least, of putting the truths into their own words and manner of expression.

^c Falsely pretending to have received revelations from him; as did Moseilama, al Aswad al Ansi, and others.

^d "What can be more impious than to make God the accomplice of a falsehood?"—*Savary*.

^e As did Abda'llah Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Sarah, who for some time was the prophet's amanuensis, and when these words were dictated to him as revealed, *viz. We created man of a purer kind of clay, &c.*³ cried out, by way of admiration, *Blessed be God, the best Creator!* and being ordered by Mohammed to write these words down also, as part of the inspired passage, began to think himself as great a prophet

¹ Al Beidawi.

² See the Prelim. Disc. § III. p. 88, &c.

³ Koran, c. 23.

a revelation like unto that which God hath sent down^a? If thou didst see when the ungodly *are* in the pangs of death, and the angels^b reach out their hands *saying*, Cast forth your souls; this day shall ye receive an ignominious punishment for that which ye have falsely spoken concerning God; and because ye have proudly rejected his signs. And now are ye come unto us alone^c, as we created you at first^d, and ye have left that which we had bestowed on you, behind your backs; neither do we see with you your intercessors^e, whom ye thought to have been partners *with God* among you: now is *the relation* between you cut off, and what ye imagined hath deceived you^f. God causeth the grain, and the date-stone to put forth: he bringeth forth the living from the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead from the living^g. *This is God.* Why therefore are ye turned away *from him*? He causeth the morning to appear; and hath ordained the night for rest, and the sun and the moon for the computing *of time*^{*}. This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise *God*. It is he who hath ordained the stars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea. We have clearly shown forth *our* signs, unto people who understand. It is he who hath produced you from one soul; and *hath*

as his master¹. Whereupon he took upon himself to corrupt and alter the Korân according to his own fancy, and at length apostatizing, was one of the ten who were proscribed at the taking of Mecca², and narrowly escaped with life on his recantation, by the interposition of Othmân Ebn Affân, whose foster-brother he was³.

^a For some Arabs, it seems, had the vanity to imagine, and gave out, that if they pleased, they could write a book nothing inferior to the Korân.

^b See before, p. 150. not. c.

^c That is, without your wealth, your children, or your friends, which ye so much depended on in your lifetime.

^d i. e. Naked and helpless.

^e Or false gods.

^f Concerning the intercession of your idols, or the disbelief of future rewards and punishments.

^g See chap. 3. p. 55.

^{*} He is your Lord. How can he deceive you? He divideth the dawn from the darkness. He hath appointed the night for rest. The sun and the moon mark the course of time."—*Savary*.

¹ Al Bcidâwi.
Vit. Moh. p. 109.

² See the Prelim. Disc. p. 75.

³ V. Abu'lfed.

provided for you a sure receptacle and a repository^a. We have clearly shown forth *our* signs, unto people who are wise. It is he who sendeth down water from heaven, and we have thereby produced the springing buds of all things, and have thereout produced the green thing, from which we produce the grain growing in rows, and palm-trees from whose branches proceed clusters of dates *hanging* close together; and gardens of grapes, and olives, and pomegranates, *both* like and unlike to one another. Look on their fruits, when they bear fruit, and their growing to maturity. Verily herein are signs, unto people who believe. *Yet* they have set up the genii^b as partners with GOD, although he created them: and they have falsely attributed unto him sons and daughters^c, without knowledge. -Praise be unto him; and far be that from him which they attribute *unto him*! *He* is the maker of heaven and earth: how should he have issue since he hath no consort? he hath created all things, and he is omniscient. This is GOD your LORD; there is no GOD but he, the creator of all things: therefore serve him; for he taketh care of all things. The sight comprehendeth him not, but he comprehendeth the sight; he *is* the gracious^d, the wise. Now have evident demonstrations come unto you from your LORD; whoso seeth *them*, *the advantage thereof will redound* to his own soul: and whoso is *wilfully* blind, *the consequence will be* to himself. I am not a keeper over you. Thus do we variously explain *our* signs; that they may say, Thou hast studied diligently^e; and that we may de-

^a Namely, in the loins of your fathers, and the wombs of your mothers¹.

^b This word signifies properly the *genus* of rational, *invisible* beings, whether angels, devils, or that intermediate species usually called *genii*. Some of the commentators, therefore, in this place, understand the angels, whom the pagan Arabs worshipped; and others the devils, either because they became their servants by adoring idols at their instigation, or else because, according to the Magian system, they looked on the devil as a sort of creator, making him the author and principle of all evil, and God the author of good only².

^c See the Prelim. Discourse, p. 23, and 54.

^d Or, as the word may be translated, *the incomprehensible*³.

^e That is, Thou hast been instructed by the Jews and Christians in these matters,

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

clare them unto people of understanding. Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD ; there is no GOD but he : retire therefore from the idolaters. If GOD had so pleased, they had not been guilty of idolatry. We have not appointed thee a keeper over them ; neither art thou a guardian over them. Revile not the *idols* which they invoke besides GOD, lest they maliciously revile GOD, without knowledge. Thus have we prepared for every nation their works : hereafter unto GOD shall they return, and he shall declare unto them that which they have done. They have sworn by GOD, by the most solemn oath, that if a sign came unto them, they would certainly believe therein : Say, Verily signs are in the power of GOD alone ; and he permitteth you not to understand, that when they come, they will not believe ^a. And we will turn aside their hearts and their sight *from the truth*, as they believed not therein ^b the first time ; and we will leave them to wander in their error.

VIII. * And though we had sent down angels unto them, and the dead had spoken unto them, and we had gathered together before them all things in one view ^c ; they would not have believed, unless GOD had so pleased : but the greater part of them know *it* not. Thus have we appointed unto every prophet an enemy ; the devils of men, and of genii : who privately suggest the one to the other specious discourses to deceive ; but if thy LORD pleased, they would not have done it. Therefore leave them, and that which they have

and only retaiest to us what thou hast learned of them. For this the infidels objected to Mohammed, thinking it impossible for him to discourse on subjects of so high a nature, and in so clear and pertinent a manner, without being well versed in the doctrines and sacred writings of those people.

^a In this passage Mohammed endeavours to excuse his inability of working a miracle, as had been demanded of him ; declaring that God did not think fit to comply with their desires ; and that if he had so thought fit, yet it had been in vain, because if they were not convinced by the Korân, they would not be convinced by the greatest miracle ¹.

^b *i. e.* In the Korân.

^c For the Meccans required that Mohammed should either show them an angel descending from heaven in their sight, or raise their dead fathers, that they might discourse with them, or prevail on God and his angels to appear to them in a body.

¹ Confer Luke xvi. 31.

falsely imagined; and let the hearts of those be inclined thereto, who believe not in the life to come; and let them please themselves therein, and let them gain that which they are gaining. Shall I seek after any *other* judge besides GOD to judge between us? It is he who hath sent down unto you the book of the *Koran* distinguishing between good and evil; and they to whom we gave the scripture know that it is sent down from thy LORD, with truth. Be not therefore one of those who doubt thereof. The words of thy LORD are perfect, in truth and justice; there is none who can change his words^a: he both heareth and knoweth. But if thou obey the greater part of them who are in the earth, they will lead thee aside from the path of GOD: they follow an *uncertain* opinion only^b, and speak nothing but lies; verily thy LORD well knoweth those who go astray from his path, and well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed. Eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated^c, if ye believe in his signs: and why do ye not eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated? since he hath plainly declared unto you what he hath forbidden you; except that which ye be compelled to eat of by necessity: many lead others into error*, because of their appetites, being void of knowledge; but thy LORD well knoweth *who* are the transgressors. Leave both the outside of iniquity, and the inside thereof^d: for they who commit iniquity shall receive the reward of that which

^a Some interpret this of the immutability of God's decree, and the certainty of his threats and promises: others, of his particular promise to preserve the Koran from any such alterations or corruptions as they imagine to have happened to the Pentateuch and the Gospel¹; and others, of the unalterable duration of the Mohammedan law, which they hold is to last till the end of the world, there being no other prophet, law, or dispensation to be expected after it.

^b Imagining that the true religion was that which their idolatrous ancestors professed.

^c See chap. 2. p. 28. and chap. 5. p. 117.

^{*} "The greatest part of men go astray, seduced by their passions, and blinded by ignorance."—*Savary*.

^d That is, Both open and secret sins.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. p. 103. and Kor. c. 15.

they shall have gained. Eat not therefore of that whereon the name of GOD hath not been commemorated; for this is certainly wickedness: but the devils will suggest unto their friends, that they dispute with you *concerning this precept*; but if ye obey them, ye *are* surely idolaters. Shall he who hath been dead, and whom we have restored unto life, and unto whom we have ordained a light, whereby he may walk among men, *be* as he whose similitude is in darkness, from whence he shall not come forth^a? Thus was that which the infidels are doing prepared for them*. And thus have we placed in every city chief leaders of the wicked *men* thereof^b, that they may act deceitfully therein; but they shall act deceitfully against their own souls only; and they know *it* not. And when a sign^c cometh unto them, they say, We will by no means believe until *a revelation* be brought unto us, like unto that which hath been delivered unto the messengers of GOD^d. GOD best knoweth whom he will appoint for his messenger^e. Vileness in the sight of GOD shall fall upon those who deal wickedly, and a grievous punishment, for that they have dealt deceitfully. And whomsoever GOD shall please to direct, he will open his breast to *receive the faith of Islam*: but whomsoever he shall please to lead into error, he will render his breast strait *and* narrow, as though he were climbing up to heaven^f. Thus doth GOD inflict a terrible punishment on those who believe not. This is the right way of thy LORD. Now have we plainly declared *our* signs unto those people who will consider.

^a The persons primarily intended in this passage were Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, and Abu Jahl; others instead of Hamza name Omar, or Ammâr.

* "Crime grows beautiful in the sight of the wicked."—*Savary*.

^b In the same manner as we have done in Mecca.

^c *i. e.* Any verse or passage of the Korân.

^d These were the words of the Koreish, who thought there were persons among themselves more worthy of the honour of being God's messenger than Mohammed.

^e Literally, *Where he will place his commission*. God, says al Beidâwi, bestows not the gift of prophecy on any one on account of his nobility or riches, but for their spiritual qualifications; making choice of such of his servants as he pleases, and who he knows will execute their commissions faithfully.

^f Or had undertaken the most impossible thing in the world. In like manner shall the heart of such a man be incapable of receiving the truth.

They shall have a dwelling of peace with their LORD, and he shall be their patron, because of that which they have wrought. *Think on the day whereon God shall gather them all together, and shall say, O company of genii^a, ye have been much concerned with mankind^{b*}; and their friends from among mankind shall say, O LORD, the one of us hath received advantage from the other^c, and we are arrived at our limited term^d which thou hast appointed us. God will say, Hell fire shall be your habitation, therein shall ye remain for ever; unless as GOD shall please to mitigate your pains^e, for thy LORD is wise and knowing. Thus do we set some of the unjust over others of them, because of that which they have deserved. O company of genii and men, did not messengers from among yourselves come unto you^f, rehearsing my signs unto you, and forewarning you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answer, We bear witness against ourselves: the present life deceived them: and they shall bear witness against themselves that they were unbelievers. This hath been the method of God's dealing with his creatures, because thy LORD would not destroy the cities in their iniquity, while their inhabitants were careless^g.*

^a That is, of devils¹.

^b In tempting and seducing them to sin.

^{*} "At the day of the universal gathering together, we shall say to the genii, Too long have you deceived mankind."—*Savary*.

^c The advantage which men received from the evil spirits was their raising and satisfying their lusts and appetites; and that which the latter received in return, was the obedience paid them by the former, &c.²

^d viz. The day of resurrection, which we believed not in the other world.

^e The commentators tell us that this alleviation of the pains of the damned will be when they shall be taken out of the fire to drink the boiling water³, or to suffer the extreme cold, called al Zamharîr, which is to be one part of their punishment; but others think the respite which God will grant to some before they are thrown into hell is here intended⁴. According to the exposition of Ebn Abbas, these words may be rendered, *Unless him whom God shall please to deliver thence*⁵.

^f It is the Mohammedan belief that apostles were sent by God for the conversion both of *genii* and of men; being generally of human race (as Mohammed, in particular, who pretended to have a commission to preach to both kinds); according to this passage, it seems there must have been prophets of the race of *genii* also, though their mission be a secret to us.

^g Or considered not their danger; but God first sent some prophet to them to warn them of it, and to invite them to repentance.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

³ Jallalo'ddin.

⁴ Al Beidâw

⁵ See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 126, &c.

Every one shall *have* degrees of recompense of that which they shall do; for thy LORD is not regardless of that which they do, and thy LORD is self-sufficient and indued with mercy. If he pleaseth he can destroy you, and cause such as he pleaseth to succeed you, in like manner as he produced you from the posterity of other people. Verily that which is threatened you, shall surely come to pass; neither shall ye cause it to fail. Say unto those of Mecca, O my people, act according to your power; verily I will act *according to my duty**^a: and hereafter shall ye know whose will be the reward of paradise. The ungodly shall not prosper. Those of Mecca set apart unto GOD a portion of that which he hath produced of the fruits of the earth, and of cattle; and say, This *belongeth* unto GOD (according to their imagination), and this unto our companions^b. And that which is *destined* for their companions cometh not unto GOD; yet that which *is set apart* unto GOD cometh unto their companions^c. How ill do they judge! In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to slay their children^d, that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obscure and confused unto them^e. But if GOD had pleased, they had not done this: therefore leave them,

* "Say unto man, Labour according unto thy strength; I will proportion my benefits unto my power."—*Savary*.

^a That is, Ye may proceed in your rebellion against God and your malice towards me, and be confirmed in your infidelity; but I will persevere to bear your insults with patience, and to publish those revelations which God has commanded me¹.

^b *i. e.* Our idols. In which sense this word is to be taken through the whole passage.

^c As to this custom of the pagan Arabs, see the Prelim. Disc. § I. pp. 21, 22. To what is there said we may add, that the share set apart for God was employed chiefly in relieving the poor, and strangers; and the share of the idols, for paying their priests, and providing sacrifices for them².

^d Either by that inhuman custom, which prevailed among those of Kendah and some other tribes, of burying their daughters alive, so soon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them³; or else by offering them to their idols, at the instigation of those who had the custody of their temples⁴.

^e By corrupting with horrid superstitions that religion which Ismael had left to his posterity⁵.

¹ Al Beidâwi.
⁵ Idem.

² Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

³ See chap. 81.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

and that which they falsely imagine. They also say, These cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred; none shall eat thereof but who we please^a (according to their imagination); and *there are cattle whose backs are forbidden to be rode on, or loaden with burthens^b*; and *there are cattle on which they commemorate not the name of God when they slay them^c*, devising a lie against him: God shall reward them for that which they falsely devise. And they say, That which is in the bellies of these cattle^d is allowed our males to eat, and is forbidden to our wives: but if it prove abortive, then they are *both* partakers thereof^e. God shall give them the reward of their attributing *these, things to him*: he is knowing and wise. They are utterly lost who have slain their children foolishly^f, without knowledge^g; and have forbidden that which God hath given them for food, devising a lie against God. They have erred, and were not *rightly* directed. He it is who produceth gardens of vines, *both those which are supported on trails of wood, and those which are not supported^h*, and palm-trees, and the corn affording various food, and olives, and pomegranates, alike and unlike unto one another. Eat of their fruit, when they bear fruit, and pay the due thereof on the day whereon ye shall gather itⁱ; but be not profuse^k, for God loveth

^a That is, Those who serve our idols, and are of the male sex; for the women were not allowed to eat of them¹.

^b Which they superstitiously exempted from such services, in some particular cases; as they did the Bahîra, the Sâiba, and the Hâmî².

^c See chap. 5. p. 117.

^d That is, the *fetus* or embryos of the Bahîra and the Sâiba, which shall be brought forth alive.

^e For if those cattle cast their young, the women might eat thereof as well as the men.

^f See p. 162, note d.

^g Not having a due sense of God's providence.

^h Or, as some choose to interpret the words, *trees or plants which are planted by the labour of man, and those which grow naturally in the deserts and on mountains*.

ⁱ That is, give alms thereof to the poor. And these alms, as al Beidâwî observes, were what they used to give before the Zacât, or legal alms, was instituted; which was done after Mohammed had retired from Mecca, where this verse was revealed. Yet some are of another opinion, and for this very reason will have the verse to have been revealed at Medina.

^k *i. e.* Give not so much thereof in alms, as to leave your own families in want; for charity begins at home.

¹ Al Beidâwî.

² See chap. 5. p. 137. and Prelim. Disc. § V.

not those who are too profuse. And *God hath given you* some cattle fit for bearing of burthens, and *some* fit for slaughter only. Eat of what God hath given you for food; and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your declared enemy. Four pair ^a *of cattle hath God given you*; of sheep one pair, and of goats one pair. Say *unto them*, Hath God forbidden the two males, *of sheep and of goats*, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Tell me with certainty, if ye speak truth. And of camels *hath God given you* one pair, and of oxen one pair. Say, Hath he forbidden the two males *of these*, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain ^b? Were ye present when God commanded you this? And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against God ^c, that he may seduce men without understanding? Verily God directeth not unjust people. Say, I find not in that which hath been revealed unto me any thing forbidden unto the eater, that he eat it not, except it be that which dieth of itself, or blood poured forth ^d, or swine's flesh: for this is an abomination: or *that which is* profane, having been slain in the name of some other than of God. But whoso shall be compelled by necessity *to eat of these things*, not lusting, nor *wilfully* transgressing, verily thy LORD *will be* gracious *unto him* and merciful. Unto the Jews did we forbid every *beast* having an *undivided* hoof; and of bullocks and sheep, we forbade them the fat of both; except that which should be on their backs, or their inwards ^e, or which should be in-

^a Or, literally, eight males and females paired together; that is, four of each sex, and two of every distinct kind.

^b In this passage Mohammed endeavours to convince the Arabs of their superstitious folly, in making it unlawful, one while, to eat the males of these four kinds of cattle; another while, the females; and at another time, their young ¹.

^c The person particularly intended here, some say, was Amru Ebn Lohai, king of Hejâz, a great introducer of idolatry and superstition among the Arabs ².

^d That is, fluid blood; in opposition to what the Arabs suppose to be also blood, but not fluid; as the liver and the spleen ³.

^e See Levit. vii. 23, and iii. 16.

¹ Al Beidâwi. ² Idem. See Prelim. Disc. p. 27, and Pocock. Spec. p. 80. Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

termixed with the bone^a. This have we rewarded them with, because of their iniquity; and we are surely speakers of truth. If they accuse thee of imposture, say, Your LORD is indued with extensive mercy; but his severity shall not be averted from wicked people. The idolaters will say, If GOD had pleased, we had not been guilty of idolatry, neither our fathers; and *pretend that* we have not forbidden *them* any thing. Thus did they who were before them accuse *the prophets* of imposture, until they tasted our severe punishment. Say, Is there with you any *certain* knowledge of *what ye allege*, that ye may produce it unto us? Ye follow only a *false* imagination; and ye only utter lies. Say, Therefore unto GOD *belongeth* the most evident demonstration; for if he had pleased, he had directed you all. Say, Produce your witnesses, who can bear testimony that GOD hath forbidden this. But if they bear testimony *of this*, do not thou bear testimony with them, nor do thou follow the desires of those who accuse our signs of falsehood, and who believe not in the life to come, and equalize *idols* with their LORD. Say, Come^b; I will rehearse that which your LORD hath forbidden you; *that is to say*, that ye be not guilty of idolatry, and *that ye show* kindness to *your* parents, and that ye murder not your children *for fear* lest ye be reduced to poverty: we will provide for you and them; and draw not near unto heinous crimes^c, neither openly nor in secret; and slay not the soul which GOD hath forbidden *you to slay*, unless for a just cause^d. This hath he enjoined you that ye may understand. And meddle not with the substance of the orphan, otherwise than for the improving *thereof*, until he attain his age of strength; and use a full mea-

^a viz. The fat of the rumps or tails of sheep, which are very large in the east; a small one weighing ten or twelve pounds, and some no less than threescore.

^b This and the two following verses Jallalo'ddin supposes to have been revealed at Medina.

^c The original word signifies peculiarly fornication, and avarice.

^d As for murder, apostasy, or adultery¹.

sure, and a just balance. We will not impose *a task* on *any* soul, beyond its ability. And when ye pronounce *judgment* observe justice, although it be *for or against* one who is near of kin, and fulfil the covenant of GOD. This hath *God* commanded you, that ye may be admonished; and *that ye may know* that this is my right way: therefore follow it, and follow not the *paths of others*, lest ye be scattered from the path of *God*. This hath he commanded you that ye may take heed. We gave also unto Moses the book of the *Law*; a perfect rule unto him who should do right, and a determination concerning all things *needful*, and a direction, and mercy; that *the children of Israel* might believe the meeting of their LORD. And this book which we have *now* sent down is blessed; therefore follow it and fear *God* that ye may obtain mercy: lest ye should say, The scriptures were only sent down unto two people ^a before us; and we neglected to peruse them with attention ^b: or lest ye should say, If a book of *divine revelations* had been sent down unto us, we would surely have been better directed than they ^c. And now hath a manifest declaration come unto you from your LORD, and a direction and mercy: and who is more unjust than he who deviseth lies against the signs of GOD, and turneth aside from them? We will reward those who turn aside from our signs with a grievous punishment, because they have turned aside. Do they wait for *any other than* that the angels should come unto them, to *part their souls from their bodies*; or that thy LORD should come to *punish them*; or that some of the signs of thy LORD should come to pass, *showing the day of judgment to be at hand* ^d? On the

^a That is, the Jews and the Christians.

^b Either because we knew nothing of them, or did not understand the language wherein they were written.

^c Because of the acuteness of our wit, the clearness of our understanding, and our facility of learning sciences; as appears from our excelling in history, poetry, and oratory, notwithstanding we are an illiterate people ¹.

^d Al Beidawi, from a tradition of Mohammed, says that ten signs will precede the last day; viz. the smoke, the beast of the earth, an eclipse in the east, another in

day whereon some of thy LORD's signs shall come to pass, its faith shall not profit a soul which believed not before, or wrought not good in its faith^a. Say, Wait ye *for this day*; we surely do wait *for it*. They who make a division in their religion^b, and become sectaries, have thou nothing to do with them; their affair *belongeth* only unto GOD. Hereafter shall he declare unto them that which they have done. He who shall appear with good works, shall receive a tenfold recompense for the same; but he who shall appear with evil works, shall receive only an equal *punishment* for the same; and they shall not be treated unjustly. Say, Verily my LORD hath directed me into a right way, a true religion, the sect of Abraham the orthodox; and he was no idolater. Say, Verily my prayers, and my worship, and my life, and my death *are dedicated* unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures: he hath no companion. This have I been commanded: I am the first Moslem^c. Say, shall I desire any other LORD besides GOD? since he is the LORD of all things; and no soul shall acquire *any merits or demerits* but for itself; and no burthened *soul* shall bear the burthen of another^d. Moreover unto your LORD shall ye return; and he shall declare unto you that concerning which ye *now* dispute. It is he who hath appointed you to succeed *your predecessors* in the earth, and hath raised some of you above others by *various degrees of worldly advantages*, that he might prove you by that which he hath bestowed on you. Thy LORD is swift in punishing; and he *is also* gracious and merciful.

the west, and a third in the peninsula of Arabia, the appearance of Antichrist, the sun's rising in the west, the irruption of Gog and Magog, the descent of Jesus on earth, and fire which shall break forth from Aden¹.

^a For faith in the next life will be of no advantage to those who have not believed in this; nor yet faith in this life, without good works.

^b That is, who believe in part of it, and disbelieve other part of it; or who form schisms therein. Mohammed is reported to have declared, that the Jews were divided into seventy-one sects, and the Christians into seventy-two: and that his own followers would be split into seventy-three sects; and that all of them would be damned, except only one of each².

^c See before, p. 143.

^d This was revealed in answer to the pressing instances of the idolaters, who offered to take the crime upon themselves, if Mohammed would conform to their worship³.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § 1V. p. 109, &c.

² Al Beidâwi.

³ Idem.

CHAPTER VII.

Intituled, Al Araf^a; revealed at Mecca^b.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

AL. M. S^c. A book hath been sent down unto thee : and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breast concerning it* ; that thou mayest preach the same, and *that it may be* an admonition unto the faithful. Follow that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD ; and follow no guides besides him : how little will ye be warned ! How many cities have we destroyed ; which our vengeance overtook by night^d, or while they were reposing themselves at noon-day^e ! And their supplication, when our punishment came upon them, was no other than that they said, Verily we have been unjust. We will surely call those to an account, unto whom *a prophet* hath been sent ; and we will *also* call those to account who have been sent *unto them*. And we will declare *their actions* unto them with knowledge ; for we are not absent *from them*. The weighing of *men's actions* on that day shall be just^f ; and they whose balances *laden with their good works* shall be heavy, are those who *shall be happy* ;

^a Al Arâf signifies the partition between paradise and hell, which is mentioned in this chapter¹.

^b Some however except five or eight verses, beginning at these words, *And ask them concerning the city, &c.*

^c The signification of those letters the more sober Mohammedans confess God alone knows. Some however imagine they stand for Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, on whom be peace.

* " Fear not to use it for the purpose of threatening the wicked, and exhorting the true believers."—*Savary*.

^d As it did the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, to whom Lot was sent.

^e As happened to the Midianites, to whom Shoaib preached.

^f See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 122.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 130.

but they whose balances shall be light, are those who have lost their souls, because they injured our signs. And now have we placed you on the earth, and have provided you food therein: *but* how little are ye thankful! We created you, and afterwards formed you; and then said unto the angels, Worship Adam; and they *all* worshipped *him*, except Eblis, *who* was not one of those who worshipped^a. *God* said unto *him*, What hindered thee from worshipping *Adam*, since I had commanded thee? He answered, I am more excellent than he: thou hast created me of fire, and hast created him of clay. *God* said, Get thee down therefore from *paradise*; for it is not *fit* that thou behave thyself proudly therein: get thee *hence*; thou shalt be one of the contemptible. He answered, Give me respite until the day of resurrection. *God* said, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those *who* are respited^b. The *devil* said, Because thou hast depraved me, I will lay wait for *men* in thy strait way; then will I come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hands, and from their left^c; and thou shalt not find the greater part of them thankful. *God* said unto *him*, Get thee hence, despised, and driven *far away*: verily whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all: but *as for thee*, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in *paradise*; and eat *of the fruit thereof* wherever ye will; but approach not this tree, lest ye become *of the number* of the unjust. And Satan suggested to them both, that he would discover unto them their nakedness, which was hidden from them; and he said, Your LORD hath not forbidden you this tree, *for any other reason* but lest ye should

^a See chap. 2, p. 6, &c.

^b As the time till which the devil is reprieved is not particularly expressed, the commentators suppose his request was not wholly granted: but agree that he shall die, as well as other creatures, at the second sound of the trumpet¹.

^c *i. e.* I will attack them on every side that I shall be able. The other two ways, *viz.* from above, and from under their feet, are omitted, say the commentators, to show that the devil's power is limited².

¹ Al Beidâwi. See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 114, and D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Eblis.

² Al Beidâwi.

become angels, or lest ye become immortal. And he swore unto them, *saying*, Verily I am *one* of those who counsel you aright. And he caused them to fall through deceit^a. And when they had tasted of the tree, their nakedness appeared unto them^b; and they began to join together the leaves of paradise^c, to cover themselves. And their LORD called to them, *saying*, Did I not forbid you this tree: and *did I not* say unto you, Verily Satan is your declared enemy? They answered, O LORD, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls; and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall *surely* be of those who perish. God said, Get ye down, the one of you an enemy unto the other; and ye shall have a dwelling-place upon earth, and a provision for a season. He said, Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die, and from thence shall ye be taken forth *at the resurrection*. O children of Adam, we have sent down unto you apparel^d, to conceal your nakedness, and fair garments; but the clothing of piety is better. This *is one* of the signs of GOD; that peradventure ye may consider. O children of Adam, let not Satan seduce you, as he expelled your parents out of paradise, by stripping them of their clothing, that he might show them their nakedness: verily he seeth you, *both* he and his com-

* The Mohammedan gospel of Barnabas tells us, that the sentence which God pronounced on the serpent for introducing the devil into paradise¹ was, that he should not only be turned out of paradisc, but that he should have his legs cut off by the angel Michael, with the sword of God; and that the devil himself, since he had rendered our first parents unclean, was condemned to eat the excrements of them and all their posterity; which two last circumstances I do not remember to have read elsewhere. The words of the manuscript are these:—*Y llamó (Dios) a la serpiente, y a Michael, aquel que tiene la espada de Dios, y le dixo; Aquesta sierpe es acelerada, echala la primera del parayso, y cortale las piernas, y si quisieri caminar, arrastrara la vida por tierra. Y llamó à Satanás, el qual vino ricndo, y dixole; Porque tu reprobó has engañado a aquestos, y los has hecho immundos? Yo quiero que toda immundicia suya, y de todos sus hijos, en saliendo de sus cuerpos entre por tu boca, porque en verdad ellos haran penitencia, y tu quedaras harto de immundicia.*

^b Which they had not perceived before; being clothed, as some say, with light, or garments of paradise, which fell from them on their disobedience. Yahya imagines their nakedness was hidden by their hair.

^c Which it is said were fig-leaves².

^d Not only proper materials, but also ingenuity of mind and dexterity of hand to make use of them³.

¹ See the notes to chap. II. p. 7.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

panions, whereas ye see not them^a. We have appointed the devils *to be* the patrons of those who believe not : and when they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers *practising* the same ; and GOD hath commanded us *to do* it. Say, Verily GOD commandeth not filthy actions. Do ye speak concerning GOD that which ye know not ? Say, My LORD hath commanded me *to observe* justice ; therefore set your faces *to pray* at every place of worship, and call upon him, approving unto him the sincerity of *your* religion. As he produced you at first, *so unto him* shall ye return. A part *of mankind* hath he directed ; and a part hath been justly led into error, because^c they have taken the devils for *their* patrons besides GOD, and imagine that they are *rightly* directed. O children of Adam, take your decent apparel at every place of worship^b, and eat and drink^c, but be not guilty of excess ; for he loveth not those who are guilty of excess. Say, Who hath forbidden the decent apparel of GOD, which he hath produced for his servants, and the good things *which he hath provided* for food ? Say, These things *are* for those who believe, in this present life, *but* peculiarly on the day of resurrection^d. Thus do we distinctly explain *our* signs unto people who understand. Say, Verily my LORD hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is discovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and also iniquity, and unjust violence ; and

^a Because of the subtilty of their bodies, and their being void of all colour¹.

^b This passage was revealed to reprove an immodest custom of the pagan Arabs, who used to encompass the Caaba naked, because clothes, they said, were the signs of their disobedience to God². The Sonna orders that when a man goes to prayers he should put on his better apparel; out of respect to the divine majesty before whom he is to appear. But as the Mohammedans think it indecent, on the one hand, to come into God's presence in a slovenly manner ; so they imagine, on the other, that they ought not to appear before him in habits too rich or sumptuous, and particularly in clothes adorned with gold or silver, lest they should seem proud.

^c The sons of Amer, it is said, when they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, used to eat no more than was absolutely necessary, and that not of the more delicious sort of food neither ; which abstinence they looked upon as a piece of merit, but they are here told the contrary³.

^d Because then the wicked, who also partook of the blessings of this life, will have no share in the enjoyments of the next.

hath forbidden you to associate with GOD that concerning which he hath sent you down no authority, or to speak of GOD that which ye know not. Unto every nation *there is* a prefixed term*; therefore when their term is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall they be anticipated. O children of Adam, verily apostles from among you shall come unto you, who shall expound my signs unto you: whosoever therefore shall fear *God* and amend, there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. But they who shall accuse our signs of falsehood, and shall proudly reject them, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire: they shall remain therein for ever. And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie concerning GOD, or accuseth his signs of imposture? Unto these shall be given their portion of *worldly happiness*, according to *what is written in the book of God's decrees*, until our messengers^a come unto them, *and* shall cause them to die; saying, *Where are the idols* which ye called upon, besides GOD? They shall answer, They have disappeared from us. And they shall bear witness against themselves, that they were unbelievers. *God* shall say *unto them at the resurrection*, Enter ye with the nations which have preceded you, of genii and of men, into *hell* fire: so often as one nation shall enter, it shall curse its sister^b, until they shall all have successively entered therein. The latter of them shall say of the former of them: O LORD, these have seduced us; therefore inflict on them a double punishment of the fire of *hell*. *God* shall answer, *It shall be doubled* unto all^c: but ye know *it* not. And the former of them shall say unto the latter of them, Ye have not

* "The term of life is fixed. No one can either anticipate or protract it for a single instant."—*Savary*.

^a *viz.* The angel of death and his assistants.

^b That is, the nation whose example betrayed them into their idolatry and other wickedness.

^c Unto those who set the example, because they not only transgressed themselves, but were also the occasion of the others transgression; and unto those who followed them, because of their own infidelity, and their imitating an ill example¹.

¹ Jallalo'ddin, al Bcidawi.

therefore any favour above us; taste the punishment for that which ye have gained. Verily they who shall charge our signs with falsehood, and shall proudly reject them, the gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them^a, neither shall they enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle^b; and thus will we reward the wicked doers. Their couch shall be in hell, and over them shall be coverings of fire; and thus will we reward the unjust. But they who believe, and do that which is right (we will not load any soul but according to its ability), they shall be the companions of paradise; they shall remain therein for ever. And we will remove all grudges from their minds^c; rivers shall run at their feet, and they shall say, Praised be GOD, who hath directed us unto this *felicity*! for we should not have been *rightly* directed, if GOD had not directed us: now *are we convinced by demonstration that* the apostles of our LORD came *unto us* with truth. And it shall be proclaimed unto them, This is paradise, whereof ye are made heirs, *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. And the inhabitants^d of paradise shall call out to the inhabitants of hell fire, *saying*, Now have we found that which our LORD promised us *to be* true: have ye *also* found that which your LORD promised you *to be* true? They shall answer, Yea. And a crier^e shall proclaim between them, The curse of GOD *shall be* on the wicked; who turn *men* aside from the way of GOD, and seek *to render* it crooked, and who deny the life to come. And between the *blessed and the damned*

^a That is, when their souls shall, after death, ascend to heaven, they shall not be admitted, but shall be thrown down into the dungeon under the seventh earth¹.

^b This expression was probably taken from our Saviour's words in the gospel²; though it be proverbial in the east.

^c So that whatever differences or animosities there had been between them in their lifetime, they shall now be forgotten, and give place to sincere love and amity. This Ali is said to have hoped would prove true to himself and his inveterate enemies, Othmân, Telha, and al Zobeir³.

^d Literally *the companions*.

^e This crier, some say, will be the angel Israfîl.

¹ Jallalo'ddin. See the Prelim. Disc. ubi sup. p. 107.

² Matth. xix. 24.

³ Al Beidâwi.

there shall be a veil; and men *shall stand* on Al Arâf^a who shall know every one *of them* by their marks^b; and shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, *saying*, Peace be upon you: *yet* they shall not enter therein, although they earnestly desire it^c. And when they shall turn their eyes towards the companions of *hell* fire, they shall say, O LORD, place us not with the ungodly people! And those who stand on Al Arâf shall call unto *certain* men^d, whom they shall know by their marks, *and* shall say, What hath your gathering *of riches* availed you, and that ye were puffed up with pride? Are these the men on whom ye swear that GOD would not bestow mercy^e? Enter ye into paradise; *there shall come* no fear on you, neither shall ye be grieved^f. And the inhabitants of *hell* fire shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, *saying*, Pour upon us some water, or of those *refreshments* which GOD hath bestowed on you^g. They shall answer, Verily GOD hath forbidden them unto the unbelievers; who made a laughing-stock and a sport of their religion, and whom the life of the world hath deceived: therefore this day will we forget them, as they did forget

^a Al Arâf is the name of the wall or partition which, as Mohammed taught, will separate paradise from hell¹. But as to the persons who are to be placed thereon, the commentators differ, as has been elsewhere observed².

^b *i. e.* Who shall distinguish the blessed from the damned by their proper characteristics; such as the whiteness and splendour of the faces of the former, and the blackness of those of the latter³.

^c From this circumstance it seems that their opinion is the most probable who make this intermediate partition a sort of purgatory for those, who though they deserve not to be sent to hell, yet have not merits sufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradise, and will be tantalized here for a certain time with a bare view of the felicity of that place.

^d That is, the chiefs and ringleaders of the infidels⁴.

^e These were the inferior and poorer among the believers, whom they despised in their lifetimes as unworthy of God's favour.

^f These words are directed, by an apostrophe, to the poor and despised believers abovementioned. Some commentators however imagine these and the next preceding words are to be understood of those who will be confined in Al Arâf; and that the damned will, in return for their reproachful speech, swear that they shall never enter paradise themselves; whereupon God of his mercy shall order them to be admitted by these words⁵.

^g *i. e.* Of the other liquors or fruits of paradise. Compare this passage with the parable of Dives and Lazarus.

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 130.

² See Ibid.

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ Idem.

the meeting of this day, and for that they denied our signs *to be from God*. And now have we brought unto those of Mecca a book of *divine revelations*: we have explained it with knowledge; a direction and mercy unto people who shall believe. Do they wait *for any other* than the interpretation thereof^a? On the day whereon the interpretation thereof shall come, they who had forgotten the same before shall say, Now *are we convinced by demonstration* that the messengers of our LORD came *unto us* with truth: shall we therefore have any intercessors, who will intercede for us? or shall we be sent back *into the world*, that we may do other *works* than what we did *in our life-time*? But now have they lost their souls; and that which they impiously imagined hath fled from them^b. Verily your LORD is GOD, who created the heavens and the earth in six days; and then ascending *his throne*: he causeth the night to cover the day; it succeedeth the same swiftly: *he also created* the sun and the moon, and the stars, *which are* absolutely subject unto his command. Is not the whole creation, and the empire *thereof*, his? Blessed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Call upon your LORD humbly and in secret^{*}; for he loveth not those who transgress^c. And act not corruptly in the earth, after its reformation^d; and call upon him with fear and desire: for the mercy of GOD is near unto the righteous. It is he who sendeth the winds, spread abroad^e before his mercy^f, until they bring a cloud heavy *with rain*, which we drive unto a dead

^a That is, the event of the promises and menaces therein.

^b See ch. 6, p. 144. not e.

^{*} "Call upon the Lord, in public and in private, but avoid ostentation. He hateth the haughty." *Savary*.

^c Behaving themselves arrogantly while they pray; or praying with an obstreperous voice, or a multitude of words and vain repetitions¹.

^d *i. e.* After that God hath sent his prophets, and revealed his laws, for the reformation and amendment of mankind.

^e Or ranging over a large extent of land. Some copies instead of *nashran*, which is the reading I have here followed, have *boshran*, which signifies *good tidings*; the rising of the wind in such a manner being the forerunner of rain.

^f That is, rain. For the east wind, says Al Beidâwi, raises the clouds, the north

¹ Al Beidâwi.

country^a; and we cause water to descend thereon, by which we cause all *sorts of* fruits to spring forth. Thus will we bring forth the dead *from their graves*^b; that peradventure ye may consider. From a good country shall its fruit spring forth *abundantly*, by the permission of its LORD; but from the *land* which is bad, it shall not spring forth otherwise than scarcely. Thus do we explain the signs *of divine providence* unto people who are thankful. We formerly sent Noah^c unto his people: and he said, O my people, worship GOD: ye have no other GOD than him^d. Verily I fear for you the punishment of the great day^e. The chiefs of his people answered *him*, We surely perceive thee *to be* in a manifest error. He replied, O my people, there is no error in me; but I am a messenger from the LORD of all creatures. I bring unto you the messages of my LORD; and I counsel you aright: for I know from GOD, that which ye know not. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you

wind drives them together, the south wind agitates them, so as to make the rain fall, and the south wind disperses them again¹.

^a Or a dry and parched land.

^b See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. pp. 109, 113, &c.

^c Noah, the son of Lamech, according to the Mohammedan writers, was one of the six principal prophets², though he had no written revelations delivered to him³, and the first who appeared after his great grandfather Edrîs or Enoch. They also say he was by trade a carpenter, which they infer from his building the ark, and that the year of his mission was the fiftieth, or, as others say, the fortieth of his age⁴.

That Noah was a preacher of righteousness unto the wicked antediluvians is testified by scripture⁵. The eastern Christians say, that when God ordered Noah to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of, at this day, in the east, instead of bells, to call the people to church, and named in Arabic *Nâkûs*, and in modern Greek, *Semandra*; on which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge, which would certainly destroy them if they did not repent⁶.

Some Mohammedan authors pretend Noah was sent to convert Zohâk, one of the Persian kings of the first race, who refused to hearken to him; and that he afterwards preached God's unity publicly⁷.

^d From these words, and other passages of the Korân where Noah's preaching is mentioned, it appears that, according to Mohammed's opinion, a principal crime of the antediluvians was idolatry⁸.

^e viz. Either the day of resurrection, or that whereon the flood was to begin.

¹ Al Beidâwi. ² See the Prelim. Disc. p. 103. ³ V. Reland. de Relig. Moh. p. 34. ⁴ Al Zamakhshari. ⁵ 2 Pet. ii. 5. ⁶ Eutych. Ann. p. 37. ⁷ V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 675. ⁸ See ch. 71, and the Prelim. Disc. § I. p. 25.

from your LORD by a man ^a from among you, to warn you, that ye may take heed to yourselves, and that peradventure ye may obtain mercy? And they accused him of imposture: but we delivered him and those who *were* with him in the ark ^b, and we drowned those who charged our signs with falsehood; for they were a blind people. And unto *the tribe of Ad* ^c we sent their brother Hud ^d. He said, O my people worship GOD: ye have no other God than him; will ye not fear *him*? The chiefs of those among his people who believed not ^e answered, Verily we perceive that thou art *guided* by folly; and we certainly esteem thee to be one of the liars. He replied, O my people, *I am not guided* by folly; but I am a messenger unto you from the LORD of all creatures: I bring unto you the messages of my LORD; and I am a faithful counsellor unto you. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD, by a man from among you, that he may warn you? Call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the people of Noah ^f,

^a For, said they, if God had pleased, he would have sent an angel, and not a man; since we never heard of such an instance in the times of our fathers ¹.

^b That is, those who believed in him, and entered into that vessel with him. Though there be a tradition among the Mohammedans, said to have been received from the prophet himself, and conformable to the scripture, that eight persons and no more were saved in the ark, yet some of them report the number variously. One says they were but six, another ten, another twelve, another seventy-eight, and another fourscore, half men and half women ²; and that one of them was the elder Jorham ³, the preserver, as some pretend, of the Arabian language ⁴.

^c Ad was an ancient and potent tribe of Arabs ⁵, and zealous idolaters ⁶. They chiefly worshipped four deities, Sâkia, Hâfedha, Râzeka, and Sâlema; the first, as they imagined, supplying them with rain, the second preserving them from all dangers abroad, the third providing food for their sustenance, and the fourth restoring them to health when afflicted with sickness ⁷; according to the signification of the several names.

^d Generally supposed to be the same person with Heber ⁸; but others say he was the son of Abda'llah, the son of Ribâh, the son of Kholûd, the son of Ad, the son of Aws or Uz, the son of Aram, the son of Sem ⁹.

^e These words were added because some of the principal men among them believed on Hûd, one of whom was Morthed Ebn Saad ¹⁰.

^f Dwelling in the habitations of the antediluvians, who preceded them not many centuries; or having the chief sway in the earth after them. For the kingdom of

¹ Al Beidâwi. ² Al Zamakhshari, Jallalo'ddin, Ebn Shohnah. ³ Idem. See the Prelim. Disc. § I. p. 10. ⁴ V. Pocock. Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograï. ⁵ See the Prelim. Disc. § I. pp. 7, 8. ⁶ Abulfeda. ⁷ V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd. ⁸ See the Prel. Disc. p. 7. ⁹ Al Beidâwi. ¹⁰ Idem.

and hath added unto you in stature largely^{a*}. Remember the benefits of GOD that ye may prosper. They said, Art thou come unto us, that we should worship God alone, and leave *the deities* which our fathers worshipped? Now bring down that *judgment* upon us, with which thou threatenest us, if thou speakest truth. Hud answered, Now shall there suddenly fall upon you from your LORD vengeance and indignation. Will ye dispute with me concerning the names which ye have named^b, and your fathers; as to which GOD hath not revealed unto you any authority? Do ye wait therefore, and I will be *one* of those who wait with you†. And we delivered him, and them who *believed* with him, by our mercy; and we cut off the uttermost part of those who charged our signs with falsehood, and were not believers^c. And unto *the tribe of Thamud*^d

Shedâd, the son of Ad, is said to have extended from the sands of Alaj to the trees of Omân¹.

^a See the Prelim. Disc. p. 9.

^{*} "And hath multiplied you, and increased your power." *Savary*.

^b That is, concerning the idols and imaginary objects of your worship, to which ye wickedly give the names, attributes, and honour due to the only true God.

† "Wait! I shall soon be spectator of your ruin." *Savary*.

^c The dreadful destruction of the Adites we have mentioned in another place², and shall only add here some further circumstances of that calamity, and which differ a little from what is there said; for the Arab writers acknowledge many inconsistencies in the histories of these ancient tribes³.

The tribe of Ad having been for their incredulity previously chastised with a three years' drought, sent Kail Ebn Ithar and Morthed Ebn Saad with seventy other principal men to the temple of Mecca to obtain rain. Mecca was then in the hands of the tribe of Amalek, whose prince was Moâwiyah Ebn Becr; and he being without the city when the ambassadors arrived, entertained them there for a month in so hospitable a manner that they had forgotten the business they came about, had not the king reminded them of it, not as from himself, lest they should think he wanted to be rid of them, but by some verses which he put into the mouth of a singing-woman. At which being roused from their lethargy, Morthed told them, the only way they had to obtain what they wanted would be to repent and obey their prophet: but this displeasing the rest, they desired Moawiyah to imprison him, lest he should go with them; which being done, Kail with the rest entering Mecca, begged of God that he would send rain to the people of Ad. Whereupon three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered Kail to choose which he would. Kail failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be loaden with the most rain; but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempest broke forth from it which destroyed them all⁴.

^d Thamûd was another tribe of the ancient Arabs who fell into idolatry. See the Prelim. Disc. § I. p. 9.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Prelim. Disc. p. 8.

³ Al Beidâwi, V. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd.

⁴ See the Prelim. Disc. p. 9.

we sent their brother Saieh^a. He said, O my people, worship GOD: ye have no God besides him. Now hath a manifest proof come unto you from your LORD. This she-camel of GOD *is* a sign unto you^b: therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in GOD's earth; and do her no hurt, lest a painful punishment seize you. And call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto *the tribe of Ad*, and hath given you a habitation on earth; ye build *yourselves* castles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houses^c. Remember therefore the benefits of GOD, and commit not violence in the earth, acting corruptly. The chiefs among his people who were puffed up with pride said unto those who were esteemed weak, *namely*, unto those who believed among them, Do ye know that Saleh hath been sent from his LORD? They answered, We do surely believe in that wherewith he hath been sent. Those who were elated with pride replied, Verily we believe not in that wherein ye believe. And they cut off the feet of the camel^d, and insolently transgressed

^a Al Beidâwi deduces his genealogy thus. Sâleh, the son of Obeid, the son of Asaf, the son of Masekh, the son of Obeid, the son of Hâdher, the son of Thamûd¹.

^b The Thamudites insisting on a miracle, proposed to Saleh that he should go with them to their festival, and that they should call on their gods, and he on his, promising to follow that deity which should answer. But after they had called on their idols a long time to no purpose, Jonda Ebn Amru, their prince, pointed to a rock standing by itself, and bid Saleh cause a she-camel big with young to come forth from it, solemnly engaging that if he did, he would believe; and his people promised the same. Whereupon Saleh asked it of God, and presently the rock, after several throes as if in labour, was delivered of a she-camel answering the description of Jonda, which immediately brought forth a young one ready weaned, and, as some say, as big as herself. Jonda, seeing this miracle, believed on the prophet, and some few with him; but the greater part of the Thamudites remained notwithstanding incredulous. Of this camel the commentators tell several very absurd stories; as that when she went to drink she never raised her head from the well or river till she had drank up all the water in it, and then she offered herself to be milked, the people drawing from her as much milk as they pleased; and some say that she went about the town crying aloud, *If any wants milk let him come forth*².

^c The tribe of Thamûd dwelt first in the country of the Adites, but their numbers increasing, they removed to the territory of Hejr for the sake of the mountains, where they cut themselves habitations in the rocks, to be seen at this day.

^d This extraordinary camel frightening the other cattle from their pasture, a certain rich woman named Oneiza Omm Ganem, having four daughters, dressed them out, and offered one Kedâr his choice of them, if he would kill the camel. Whereupon

¹ Abulfeda, Al Zamakhshari. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Saleh. the Prelim. Disc. p. 9.

² See

the command of their LORD^a, and said, O Saleh, cause that to come upon us, with which thou hast threatened us, if thou art *one* of those who have been sent *by God*. Whereupon a terrible noise from heaven^b assailed them*; and in the morning they were found in their dwellings prostrate on their breasts *and dead*^c. And Saleh departed from them, and said^d, O my people, now have I delivered unto you the message of my LORD; and I advised you well, but ye love not those who advise *you* well. And *remember* Lot^e, when he said

he chose one, and with the assistance of eight other men, hamstrung and killed the dam, and pursuing the young one, which fled to the mountain, killed that also, and divided his flesh among them^f. Others tell the story somewhat differently, adding Sadaka Bint al Mokhtâr as a joint conspiratress with Oneiza, and pretending that the young one was not killed; for they say that having fled to a certain mountain named Kâra, he there cried three times, and Saleh bid them catch him if they could, for then there might be hopes of their avoiding the divine vengeance; but this they were not able to do, the rock opening after he had cried, and receiving him within it^g.

* Defying the vengeance with which they were threatened; because they trusted in their strong dwellings hewn in the rocks, saying that the tribe of Ad perished only because their houses were not built with sufficient strength^h.

^b Like violent and repeated claps of thunder; which some say was no other than the voice of the angel Gabrielⁱ, and which rent their hearts^j. It is said that after they had killed the camel, Saleh told them that on the morrow their faces should become yellow, the next day red, and the third day black, and that on the fourth God's vengeance should light on them; and that the first three signs happening accordingly, they sought to put him to death, but God delivered him, by sending him into Palestine^k.

* "At that instant they felt the earth tremble under their feet." *Savary*.

^c Mohammed in the expedition of 'Tabûc, which he undertook against the Greeks in the ninth year of the Hejra, passing by Hejr, where this ancient tribe had dwelt, forbade his army, though much distressed with heat and thirst, to draw any water there, but ordered them if they had drank of that water to bring it up again, or if they had kneaded any meal with it, to give it their camels^l; and wrapping up his face in his garment, he set spurs to his mule, crying out, *Enter not the houses of those wicked men, but rather weep, lest that happen unto you, which befel them*; and having so said, he continued galloping full speed with his face muffled up, till he had passed the valley^m.

^d Whether this speech was made by Saleh to them at parting, as seems most probable, or after the judgment had fallen on them, the commentators are not agreed.

^e The commentators say, conformably to the scripture, that Lot was the son of Haran, the son of Azer or Terah, and consequently Abraham's nephew, who brought him with him from Chaldaea into Palestine, where, they say, he was sent by God to reclaim the inhabitants of Sodom and the other neighbouring cities which were overthrown with it, from the unnatural vice to which they were addictedⁿ. And this Mohammedan tradition seems to be countenanced by the words of the apostle, that this *righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds*^o; whence it is probable that he

¹ Abulfeda. ² Al Beidâwi. V. D'Herbel. ubi supra.

See the Prelim. Disc. p. 9.

⁵ Abulfeda, Al Beidâwi.

³ Al Kessai.

Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 124.

⁸ Al Bokhari.

⁶ Al Beidâwi.

⁹ V. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Loth.

¹⁰ 2 Pet. ii. 8.

unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedness, wherein no creature hath set you an example? Do ye approach lustfully unto men, leaving the women? Certainly ye are people who transgress *all modesty**. But the answer of his people was no other than that they said *the one to the other*, Expel them^a your city; for they are men who preserve themselves pure *from the crimes which ye commit*. Therefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife; she was *one* of those who stayed *behind*^b: and we rained a shower of stones upon them^c. Behold therefore what was the end of the wicked. And unto Madian^d we sent their brother Shoaib^e. He said *unto them*, O my people, worship God; ye have no God besides him. Now hath an evident demonstration^f come unto you from your LORD. Therefore give full measure and just weight, and dimi-

omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation. The story of Lot is told with further circumstances in the eleventh chapter.

* "Will you violate the laws of nature?" *Savary*.

^a viz. Lot, and those who believe on him.

^b See chap. 11.

^c See Ibid.

^d Madian, or Midian, was a city of Hejâz, and the habitation of a tribe of the same name, the descendants of Midian, the son of Abraham by Keturah¹, who afterwards coalesced with the Ismaelites, as it seems; Moses naming the same merchants who sold Joseph to Potiphar, in one place Ismaelites², and in another Midianites³.

This city was situated on the Red sea, south-east of mount Sinai, and is doubtless the same with the Modiana of Ptolemy; what was remaining of it in Mohammed's time was soon after demolished in the succeeding wars⁴, and it remains desolate to this day. The people of the country pretend to show the well whence Moses watered Jethro's flocks⁵.

^e Some Mohammedan writers make him the son of Mikail, the son of Yashjar, the son of Madian⁶; and they generally suppose him to be the same person with the father-in-law of Moses, who is named in scripture Reul or Raguël, and Jethro⁷. But Ahmed Ebn Abd'alhalim charges those who entertain this opinion with ignorance. Al Kessâi says that his father's name was Sanûn, and that he was first called Boyûn, and afterwards Shoaib; and adds that he was a comely person, but spare and lean, very thoughtful, and of few words. Doctor Prideaux writes this name, after the French translation, Chaib⁸.

^f This demonstration the commentators suppose to have been a power of working miracles, though the Korân mentions none in particular. However they say (after the Jews) that he gave his son-in-law that wonder-working rod⁹ with which he performed all those miracles in Egypt and the desert, and also excellent advice and instructions¹⁰; whence he had the surname of Khatib al anbiyâ, or the *preacher to the prophets*¹¹.

¹ Gen. xxv. 2. ² Gen. xxxix. 1. ³ Gen. xxxvii. 36. ⁴ V. Golii not. in Alfrag. p. 143. ⁵ Abulfeda Desc. Arab. p. 42. Geogr. Nub. p. 109. ⁶ Al Beidâwi, Tarikh Montakhab. ⁷ Exod. ii. 18, iii. 1. ⁸ Life of Mah. p. 24. ⁹ Al Beidâwi. V. Shalshel. bakkab. p. 12. ¹⁰ Exod. xviii. 13, &c. ¹¹ V. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Schoaib.

nish not unto men *ought* of their matters^a; neither act corruptly in the earth, after its reformation^b. This will be better for you, if ye believe. And beset not every way, threatening *the passenger*^c; and turning aside from the path of GOD him who believeth in him, and seeking to make it crooked. And remember, when ye were few, and *God* multiplied you: and behold, what hath been the end of those who acted corruptly. And if part of you believe in that where-with I am sent, and part believe not, wait patiently until GOD judge between us; for he is the best

IX. judge. *The chiefs of his people, who were elated with pride, answered, We will surely cast thee, O Shoaib, and those who believe with thee, out of our city; or else thou shalt certainly return unto our religion. He said, What, though we be averse *thereto*? We shall surely imagine a lie against GOD, if we return unto your religion, after that GOD hath delivered us from the same: and we have no *reason* to return unto it, unless GOD our LORD shall please *to abandon us*. Our LORD comprehendeth every thing by *his* knowledge. In GOD do we put our trust. O LORD, do thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for thou art the best judge. And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, said, If ye follow Shoaib, ye shall surely perish. Therefore a storm from heaven^d assailed them*, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and prostrate*. They who accused Shoaib of imposture *became* as though they had never dwelt therein; they

^a For one of the great crimes which the Midianites were guilty of was the using of diverse measures and weights, a great and a small, buying by one and selling by another¹.

^b See before, p. 175. not. d.

^c Robbing on the highway, it seems, was another crying sin, frequent among these people. But some of the commentators interpret this passage figuratively, of their besetting the way of truth, and threatening those who gave ear to the remonstrances of Shoaib².

^d Like that which destroyed the Thamudites. Some suppose it to have been an earthquake, for the original word signifies either, or both; and both these dreadful calamities may well be supposed to have jointly executed the divine vengeance.

* "They were overthrown by an earthquake." *Savary*.

¹ V. ib. Al Beidâwi. See Deut. xxv. 13, 14.

² Idem.

who accused Shoaib of imposture perished themselves. And he departed from them, and said, O my people, now have I performed unto you the messages of my LORD; and I advised you aright : but why should I be grieved for an unbelieving people ? We have never sent any prophet unto a city, but we afflicted the inhabitants thereof with calamity and adversity, that they might humble themselves. Then we gave *them* in exchange good in lieu of evil, until they abounded, and said, Adversity and prosperity formerly happened unto our fathers, *as unto us*. Therefore we took vengeance on them suddenly, and they perceived it not *beforehand*. But if the inhabitants of *those* cities had believed and feared God, we would surely have opened to them blessings both from heaven and earth. But they charged *our apostles* with falsehood ; wherefore we took vengeance on them, for that which they had been guilty of. Were the inhabitants therefore of *those* cities secure that our punishment should not fall on them by night, while they slept ? Or were the inhabitants of *those* cities secure that our punishment should not fall on them by day, while they sported ? Were they therefore secure from the stratagem of GOD^a ? But none will think himself secure from the stratagem of God, except the people who perish. And hath it not manifestly appeared unto those who have inherited the earth after the *former* inhabitants thereof, that, if we please, we can afflict them for their sins ? But we will seal up their hearts ; and they shall not hearken. We will relate unto thee some stories of these cities. Their apostles had come unto them with evident miracles, but they were not *disposed* to believe in that which they had before gainsaid. Thus will GOD seal up the

^a Hereby is figuratively expressed the manner of God's dealing with proud and ungrateful men, by suffering them to fill up the measure of their iniquity, without vouchsafing to bring them to a sense of their condition by chastisements and afflictions till they find themselves utterly lost, when they least expect it¹.

* " Thought they that they could escape the vigilance of God ? Shall the wicked alone be able to clude it ?" *Savary*.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

hearts of the unbelievers. And we found not in the greater part of them any *observance* of *their* covenant; but we found the greater part of them wicked doers. Then we sent, after the *above-named apostles*, Moses with our signs unto Pharaoh^a and his princes; who treated them unjustly^b: but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers. And Moses said, O Pharaoh, verily I am an apostle *sent* from the LORD of all creatures. It is just that I should not speak of GOD other than the truth. Now am I come unto you with an *evident* sign from your LORD: send therefore the children of Israel away with me. Pharaoh answered, If thou comest with a sign, produce it, if thou speakest truth. Wherefore he cast down his rod; and behold, it *became* a visible serpent^c. And he drew forth his hand *out of his bosom*; and behold it *appeared* white unto the spectators^d. The chiefs of the people of

^a This was the common title or name of the kings of Egypt (signifying king in the Coptic tongue), as Ptolemy was in after times; and as Cæsar was that of the Roman emperors, and Khosrû that of the kings of Persia. But which of the kings of Egypt this Pharaoh of Moses was is uncertain. Not to mention the opinions of the European writers, those of the east generally suppose him to have been al Walid, who, according to some, was an Arab of the tribe of Ad, or, according to others, the son of Masâb, the son of Riyân, the son of Walid¹ the Amalekite². There are historians, however, who suppose Kabûs the brother and predecessor of al Walid was the prince we are speaking of; and pretend he lived six hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred: which is more reasonable, at least, than the opinion of those who imagine it was his father Masâb, or grandfather Riyân³. Abulfeda says, that Masâb being one hundred and seventy years old, and having no child, while he kept the herds, saw a cow calve, and heard her say, at the same time, O Masâb, *be not grieved, for thou shalt have a wicked son, who will be at length cast into hell*. And he accordingly had this Walid, who afterwards coming to be king of Egypt, proved an impious tyrant.

^b By not believing therein.

^c The Arab writers tell enormous fables of this serpent or dragon. For they say that he was hairy, and of so prodigious a size, that when he opened his mouth, his jaws were fourscore cubits asunder, and when he laid his lower jaw on the ground, his upper reached to the top of the palace; that Pharaoh seeing this monster make towards him, fled from it, and was so terribly frightened, that he befouled himself; and that the whole assembly also betaking themselves to their heels, no less than twenty-five thousand of them lost their lives in the press. They add that Pharaoh upon this adjured Moses by God who had sent him to take away the serpent, and promised he would believe on him, and let the Israelites go; but when Moses had done what he requested, he relapsed, and grew as hardened as before⁴.

^d There is a tradition that Moses was a very swarthy man; and that when he put his hand into his bosom, and drew it out again, it became extremely white and

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. p. 11.
and al Keshâf.

⁴ Al Beidâwi.

² Abulfeda, &c.

³ Kitâh tafsîr lebâb,

Pharaoh said, This *man* is certainly an expert magician: he seeketh to dispossess you of your land; what therefore do ye direct? They answered, Put off him and his brother *by fair promises for some time*, and *in the mean while* send unto the cities persons who may assemble and bring unto thee every expert magician. So the magicians^a came unto Pharaoh; and they said, Shall we surely receive a reward, if we do overcome? He answered, Yea; and ye shall certainly be of those who approach near *unto my throne*. They said, O Moses, either do thou cast down *thy rod first*, or we will cast down *ours*. Moses answered, Do ye cast down *your rods first*. And when they had cast *them* down, they enchanted the eyes of the men *who were present*, and terrified them: and they performed a great enchantment^b. And we spake by revelation unto Moses, *saying*, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it swallowed up *the rods* which they had *caused falsely to appear* changed *into serpents*^c. Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought vanished. And *Pharaoh and his magicians* were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible. And the magicians prostrated themselves, worshipping; and they said, We believe in the LORD of all creatures,

splendid, surpassing the brightness of the sun¹. Marracci² says we do not read in scripture that Moses showed this sign before Pharaoh. It is true, the scripture does not expressly say so, but it seems to be no more than a necessary inference from that passage, where God tells Moses that if they will not hearken to the first sign, they will believe the latter sign, and if they will not believe these two signs, then directs him to turn the water into blood³.

^a The Arabian writers name several of these magicians, besides their chief priest Simeon, viz. Sadûr and Ghadûr, Jaath and Mosfa, Warân and Zamân, each of whom came attended with their disciples, amounting in all to several thousands⁴.

^b They provided themselves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood, which they contrived, by some means, to move, and make them twist themselves one over the other; and so imposed on the beholders, who at a distance took them to be true serpents⁵.

^c The expositors add, that when this serpent had swallowed up all the rods and cords, he made directly towards the assembly, and put them into so great a terror, that they fled, and a considerable number were killed in the crowd: then Moses took it up, and it became a rod in his hand as before. Whereupon the magicians declared that it could be no enchantment, because in such case their rods and cords would not have disappeared⁶.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² In Alc. p. 284.

³ Exod. iv. 8, 9.

⁴ V. D'Her-

belot, Bibl. Orient. art. Mousa, p. 643, &c. Al Kessai.

⁵ Al Beidâwi.

V. D'Herbelot, ubi sup. and Korân, c. 20.

⁶ Al Beidâwi.

the LORD of Moses and Aaron *. Pharaoh said, Have ye believed on him, before I have given you permission? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye might cast forth from thence the inhabitants thereof^b. But ye shall surely know *that I am your master; for* I will cause your hands and your feet to be cut off on the opposite sides^c, then will I cause you all to be crucified^d. The *magicians* answered, We shall certainly return unto our LORD, *in the next life*; for thou takest vengeance on us only because we have believed in the signs of our LORD, when they have come unto us. O LORD, pour on us patience; and cause us to die Moslems^e. And the chiefs of Pharaoh's people said, Wilt thou let Moses and his people go, that they may act corruptly in the earth, and leave thee and thy gods^f? *Pharaoh* answered, We will cause their male children to be slain, and we will suffer their females to live^g; and *by that*

* It seems probable that all the magicians were not converted by this miracle, for some writers introduce Sadûr and Ghadûr only, acknowledging Moses's miracle to be wrought by the power of God. These two, they say, were brothers, and the sons of a famous magician, then dead; but on their being sent for to court on this occasion, their mother persuaded them to go to their father's tomb, to ask his advice. Being come to the tomb, the father answered their call, and when they had acquainted him with the affair, he told them, that they should inform themselves whether the rod of which they spoke became a serpent while its masters slept, or only when they were awake; for, said he, enchantments have no effect while the enchanter is asleep, and therefore if it be otherwise in this case, you may be assured that they act by a divine power. These two magicians then, arriving at the capital of Egypt, on inquiry found, to their great astonishment, that when Moses and Aaron went to rest, their rod became a serpent, and guarded them while they slept¹. And this was the first step towards their conversion.

^b *i. e.* This is a confederacy between you and Moses, entered into before ye left the city to go to the place of appointment, to turn out the Copts, or native Egyptians, and establish the Israelites in their stead².

^c That is, your right hands, and your left feet.

^d Some say Pharaoh was the first inventor of this ignominious and painful punishment.

^e Some think these converted magicians were executed accordingly: but others deny it, and say that the king was not able to put them to death; insisting on these words of the Korân³, *You two, and they who follow you, shall overcome.*

^f Which were the stars, or other idols. But some of the commentators, from certain impious expressions of this prince, recorded in the Korân⁴, whereby he sets up himself as the only god of his subjects, suppose that he was the object of their worship, and therefore instead of *alihataca*, *thy gods*, read *ilahataca*, *thy worship*⁵.

^g That is, We will continue to make use of the same cruel policy to keep the Israelites in subjection as we have hitherto done. The commentators say that

¹ V. D'Herbel. ubi sup. and chap. 26, &c.

² Al Beidâwi.
⁵ Al Beidâwi.

³ Chap. 28.

⁴ Ibid.

means we shall prevail over them. Moses said unto his people, Ask assistance of GOD, and suffer patiently : for the earth is God's, he giveth it for an inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth ; and the *prosperous* end *shall be* unto those who fear *him*. They answered, We have been afflicted *by having our male children slain*, before thou camest unto us, and also since thou hast come unto us. *Moses* said, Peradventure it may happen that your LORD will destroy your enemy, and will cause you to succeed *him* in the earth, that he may see how ye will act *therein*. And we formerly punished the people of Pharaoh with dearth and scarcity of fruits, that they might be warned. Yet when good happened unto them, they said *, This *is owing* unto us : but if evil befel them, they attributed *the same* to the ill luck of Moses, and those who *were* with him ^a. Was not their ill luck with GOD ^b? but most of them knew *it* not. And they said *unto Moses*, Whatever sign thou show unto us, to enchant us *there-with*, we will not believe on thee. Wherefore we sent upon them a flood ^c, and locusts, and lice ^d, and frogs, and blood ; distinct miracles : but they behaved proudly, and became a wicked people. And when the plague ^e fell on them, they said, O Moses, entreat thy LORD for

Pharaoh came to this resolution because he had either been admonished in a dream, or by the astrologers or diviners, that one of that nation should subvert his kingdom ¹.

* " The good which they had enjoyed they considered as a debt to them."—*Savary*.

^a Looking on him and his followers as the occasion of those calamities. The original word properly signifies to *take an ominous and sinister presage* of any future event, from the flight of birds, or the like.

^b By whose will and decree they were so afflicted, as a punishment for their wickedness.

^c This inundation, they say, was occasioned by unusual rains which continued eight days together, and the overflowing of the Nile ; and not only covered their lands, but came into their houses, and rose as high as their backs and necks ; but the children of Israel had no rain in their quarters ². As there is no mention of any such miraculous inundation in the Mosaic writings, some have imagined this plague to have been either a pestilence, or the small-pox, or some other epidemical distemper ³. For the word *tufân*, which is used in this place, and is generally rendered a *deluge*, may also signify any other universal destruction or mortality.

^d Some will have these insects to have been a larger sort of tick ; others, the young locusts before they have wings ⁴.

^e viz. Any of the calamities already mentioned, or the pestilence which God sent upon them afterwards.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

² Ibidem, Abulfed.

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ Idem.

us, according to that which he hath covenanted with thee: verily if thou take the plague from off us, we will surely believe thee, and we will let the children of Israel go with thee. But when we had taken the plague from off them, until the term *which God had granted them* was expired, behold, they broke their promise. Wherefore we took vengeance on them, and drowned them in the *Red Sea*^a; because they charged our signs with falsehood, and neglected them. And we caused the people who had been rendered weak to inherit the eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof^b, which we blessed *with fertility*; and the gracious word of thy LORD was fulfilled on the children of Israel, for that they had endured with patience: and we destroyed the *structures* which Pharaoh and his people had made, and that which they had erected^c. And we caused the children of Israel to pass through the sea, and they came unto a people who gave themselves up to *the worship of their idols*^d, and they said, O Moses, make us a god, in like manner as these *people* have gods. *Moses* answered, Verily ye are an ignorant people: for *the religion* which these follow *will be destroyed*, and that which they do is vain. He said, Shall I seek for you any other god than GOD; since he hath preferred you to the *rest of the world*? And *remember* when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you; they slew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD*.

* See this wonderful event more particularly described in the tenth and twentieth chapters.

^b That is, the land of Syria, of which the eastern geographers reckon Palestine a part, and wherein the commentators say the children of Israel succeeded the kings of Egypt and the Amalekites¹.

^c Particularly the lofty tower which Pharaoh caused to be built, that he might attack the God of Moses².

^d These people some will have to be of the tribe of Amalek, whom Moses was commanded to destroy, and others of the tribe of Lakhm. Their idols, it is said, were images of oxen, which gave the first hint to the making of the golden calf³.

* Savary, referring the final clause to the deliverance, translates it, "This was an eminent favour from the divine goodness."

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² V. Kor. ch. 28, and 40.

³ Al Beidâwi.

And we appointed unto Moses *a fast of thirty nights before we gave him the law^a*, and we completed them by *adding of ten more*; and the stated time of his LORD was fulfilled in forty nights. And Moses said unto his brother Aaron, Be thou my deputy among my people *during my absence*; and behave uprightly, and follow not the way of the corrupt doers. And when Moses came at our appointed time, and his LORD spake unto him^b, he said, O LORD, show me *thy glory*, that I may behold thee. God answered, Thou shalt in no wise behold me; but look towards the mountain^c, and if it stand firm in its place, then shalt thou see me. But when his LORD appeared with glory in the mount^d, he reduced it to dust. And Moses fell down in a swoon. And when he came to himself, he said, Praise be unto thee! I turn unto thee with repentance, and I *am* the first of true believers^e. God said unto him, O Moses, I have chosen thee above *all men*, by *honouring thee* with my commissions, and by my speaking *unto thee*: receive therefore that which I have brought thee, and be *one* of those who give thanks^f. And we wrote for him on

^a The commentators say that God, having promised Moses to give him the law, directed him to prepare himself for the high favour of speaking with God in person, by a fast of thirty days; and that Moses accordingly fasted the whole month of Dhu'lkaada, but not liking the savour of his breath, he rubbed his teeth with a dentifrice, upon which the angels told him, that his breath before had the odour of musk¹, but that his rubbing his teeth had taken it away. Wherefore God ordered him to fast ten days more, which he did; and these were the first ten days of the succeeding month Dhu'lhajja. Others however suppose that Moses was commanded to fast and pray thirty days only, and that during the other ten God discoursed with him².

(The Arabs reckon by *nights* as we do by *days*. This custom doubtless had its rise from the excessive heat of their climate. They dwell amidst burning sands, and while the sun is above the horizon they usually keep within their tents. When he sets they quit them, and enjoy coolness and a most delightful sky. Night is, in a great measure, to them that which day is to us. Their poets, therefore, never celebrate the charms of a beautiful day; but these words, *Leili! Leili! O night! O night!* are repeated in all their songs.—*Savary*).

^b Without the mediation of any other, and face to face, as he speaks unto the angels³.

^c This mountain the Mohammedans name al Zabir.

^d Or, as it is literally, *unto the mount*. For some of the expositors pretend that God endued the mountain with life and the sense of seeing.

^e This is not to be taken strictly. See the like expression in chap. 6. p. 143.

^f The Mohammedans have a tradition, that Moses asked to see God on the day

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 153. ² Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. ³ Al Beidâwi, V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 650.

the tables^a an admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case^b, *and said*, Receive this with reverence; and command thy people that they live according to the most excellent *precepts* thereof. I will show you the dwelling of the wicked^c. I will turn aside from my signs those who behave themselves proudly in the earth, without justice: and although they see every sign, yet they shall not believe therein; and although they see the way of righteousness, yet they shall not take that way; but if they see the way of error, they shall take that way. *This shall come to pass* because they accuse our signs of imposture, and neglect the same. But as for them who deny the truth of our signs and the meeting of the life to come, their works shall be vain: shall they be rewarded otherwise than *according to* what they shall have wrought? And the people of Moses, after his *departure*, took a corporeal calf^d, *made* of their ornaments^e, which lowed^f. Did they not see that it spake not unto them, neither directed them in the way? *yet* they took it *for their god*, and acted wickedly. But when they repented with sorrow^g, and saw that they had gone astray, they said, Verily if our LORD have

of Arafat, and that he received the law on the day they slay the victims at the pilgrimage of Mecca, which days are the ninth and tenth of Dhu'l-hajja.

^a These tables, according to some, were seven in number, and according to others ten. Nor are the commentators agreed whether they were cut out of a kind of lote-tree in Paradise called al Sedra, or whether they were chrysolites, emeralds, rubies, or common stone¹. But they say that they were each ten or twelve cubits long; for they suppose that not only the ten commandments but the whole law was written thereon: and some add that the letters were cut quite through the tables so that they might be read on both sides²; which is a fable of the Jews.

^b That is, a perfect law, comprehending all necessary instructions as well in regard to religious and moral duties as the administration of justice.

^c *viz.* The desolate habitations of the Egyptians, or those of the impious tribes of Ad and Thamûd, or perhaps hell, the dwelling of the ungodly in the other world.

^d That is, as some understand it, consisting of flesh and blood; or, as others, being a mere body or mass of metal, without a soul³.

^e Such as their rings and bracelets of gold and silver⁴.

^f See chap. 20, and the notes to chap. 2. pp. 9, 10.

^g Father Marracci seems not to have understood the meaning of this phrase, having literally translated the Arabic words, *wa lamma sokita fi eidihim*, without any manner of sense, *Et cum cadere factus fuisset in manibus eorum*.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² V. D'Herbel. ubi supra.

³ Al Beidâwi. See chap.

20, and the notes to chap. 2. pp. 9, 10.

⁴ V. ibid.

not mercy upon us, and forgive us not, we shall certainly become *of the number* of those who perish. And when Moses returned unto his people, full of wrath and indignation, he said, An evil thing is it that ye have committed after my *departure*; have ye hastened the command of your LORD^a? And he threw down the tables^b, and took his brother by the *hair of the head*, and dragged him unto him. And Aaron said unto him, Son of my mother, Verily the people prevailed against me^c, and it wanted little but they had slain me: make not *my* enemies therefore to rejoice over me, neither place me with the wicked people. Moses said, O LORD, forgive me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy; for thou art the most merciful of those who exercise mercy. Verily as for them who took the calf *for their god*, indignation shall overtake them from their LORD^d, and ignominy in this life: thus will we reward those who imagine falsehood. But unto them who do evil, and afterwards repent, and believe *in God*, verily thy LORD *will* thereafter be clement *and* merciful. And when the anger of Moses was appeased, he took the tables^e; and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy, unto those who feared their LORD. And Moses chose out of his people seventy men, *to go up with him to the mountain* at the time appointed by us: and when a storm of thunder and lightning had taken them away^{*f}, he said, O LORD, if thou hadst pleased, thou hadst destroyed them before, and me *also*; wilt thou destroy us for that which the foolish *men* among us have committed? This is only thy trial; thou wilt thereby

^a By neglecting his precepts, and bringing down his swift vengeance on you.

^b Which were all broken and taken up to heaven, except one only; and this, they say, contained the threats and judicial ordinances, and was afterwards put into the ark¹.

^c Literally, *rendered me weak*.

^d See chap. 2, p. 10.

^e Or the fragments of that which was left.

^{*f} "An earthquake swallowed them up."—*Savary*.

¹ See chap. 2, p. 10, and chap. 4, p. 112.

lead into error whom thou pleasest, and thou wilt direct whom thou pleasest. Thou art our protector, therefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us ; for thou art the best of those who forgive. And write down for us good in this world, and in the life to come ; for unto thee are we directed. *God* answered, I will inflict my punishment on whom I please ; and my mercy extendeth over all things : and I will write down *good* unto those who shall fear *me*, and give alms, and who shall believe in our signs ; who shall follow the apostle, the illiterate prophet^a, whom they shall find written down^b with them in the law and the gospel : he will command them that which is just, and will forbid them that which is evil ; and will allow unto them as lawful the good things *which were before forbidden*^c, and will prohibit those which are bad^d ; and he will ease them of their heavy burthen, and of the yokes which were upon them^e. And those who believe in him, and honour him, and assist him, and follow the light, which hath been sent down with him, *shall be happy*. Say, O men, Verily I am the messenger of GOD unto you all^f : unto him *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth ; there is no GOD but he : he giveth life, and he causeth to die. Believe therefore in GOD and his apostle, the illiterate prophet, who believeth in GOD and his word ; and follow him, that ye may be *rightly* directed. Of the people of Moses *there is a party*^g who direct *others* with truth, and act justly according to the same. And we divided them into twelve tribes, *as into so many nations*. And we

^a That is Mohammed. See the Prelim. Disc. § II. p. 57.

^b *i. e.* Both foretold by name and certain description.

^c See chap. 3, p. 60.

^d As the eating of blood and swine's flesh, and the taking of usury, &c.

^e See chap. 2, p. 50.

^f That is, to all mankind in general, and not to one particular nation, as the former prophets were sent.

^g *viz.* Those Jews who seemed better disposed than the rest of their brethren to receive Mohammed's law ; or perhaps such of them as had actually received it. Some imagine they were a Jewish nation dwelling somewhere beyond China, which Mohammed saw the night he made his journey to heaven, and who believed on him¹.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

spake by revelation unto Moses, when his people asked drink of him, *and we said*, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains^a, and men knew their *respective* drinking-place. And we caused clouds to overshadow them, and manna and quails^b to descend upon them, *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us*, but they injured their own souls. And *call to mind* when it was said unto them, Dwell in this city^c, and eat *of the provisions* thereof wherever ye will, and say, Forgiveness; and enter the gate worshipping: we will pardon you your sins, *and* will give increase unto the well-doers. But they who were ungodly among them changed the expression into another^d, which had not been spoken unto them. Wherefore we sent down upon them indignation from heaven, because they had transgressed. And ask them concerning the city^e, which was situate on the sea, when they transgressed on the sabbath-day: when their fish came unto them on their sabbath-day, *appearing* openly *on the water*; but on the day whereon they celebrated no sabbath, they came not unto them. Thus did we prove them, because they were wicked

^a See chap. 2, p. 11.

To what is said in the notes there we may add, that, according to a certain tradition, the stone, on which this miracle was wrought, was thrown down from paradise by Adam, and came into the possession of Shoaib, who gave it with the rod to Moses; and that, according to another, the water issued thence by three orifices on each of the four sides of the stone, making twelve in all, and that it ran, in so many rivulets, to the quarter of each tribe in the camp¹.

^b See chap. 2, p. 10.

* "Their murmurs did injury only to themselves."—*Savary*.

^c See this passage explained, chap. 2, p. 10.

^d Professor Sike says, that being prone to leave spiritual for worldly matters, instead of Hittaton they said Hintaton, which signifies *wheat*², and comes much nearer the true word than the expression I have in the place last quoted, set down from Jal-lalo'ddin. Whether he took this from the same commentator or not, does not certainly appear, though he mentions him just before; but if he did, his copy must differ from that which I have followed.

^e This city was Ailah or Elath, on the Red Sea; though some pretend it was Midian, and others Tiberias. The whole story is already given in the notes to chap. 2, p. 12. Some suppose the following five or eight verses to have been revealed at Medina.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² Sike, in not. ad Evang. Infant. p. 71.

doers. And when a party of them^a said *unto the others*, Why do ye warn a people whom GOD will destroy, or will punish with a grievous punishment? They answered, *This is an excuse for us unto your LORD^b*; and peradventure they will beware. But when they had forgotten the admonitions which had been given them, we delivered those who forbade *them* to do evil; and we inflicted on those who had transgressed a severe punishment, because they had acted wickedly. And when they proudly refused *to desist* from what had been forbidden them, we said unto them, Be ye *transformed into apes*, driven away *from the society of men*. And *remember* when thy LORD declared that he would surely send against *the Jews*, until the day of resurrection, *some nation* who should afflict them with a grievous oppression^c: for thy LORD is swift in punishing, and he *is* also ready to forgive, *and* merciful: and we dispersed them among the nations in the earth. *Some* of them are upright persons, and *some* of them are otherwise. And we proved them with prosperity and with adversity, that they might return *from their disobedience*; and a succession of *their posterity* hath succeeded after them, who have inherited the book of *the law*, who receive the temporal goods of this world^d, and say, It will surely be forgiven us: and if a temporal *advantage* like the former be offered them, they accept it *also*. Is not the covenant of the book of *the law* established with them, that they should not speak of GOD *ought* but the truth^e? Yet they diligently read that which is therein. But the enjoyment of the next life *will be* better for those who fear *God than the*

^a viz. The religious persons among them, who strictly observed the sabbath, and endeavoured to reclaim the others, till they despaired of success. But some think these words were spoken by the offenders, in answer to the admonitions of the others.

^b That we have done our duty in dissuading them from their wickedness.

^c See chap. 5, p. 131, not. a.

^d By accepting of bribes for wresting judgment, and for corrupting the copies of the Pentateuch; and by extorting of usury, &c.¹

^e Particularly by giving out that God will forgive their corruption without sincere repentance and amendment.

wicked gains of these people; (Do ye not therefore understand?) and for those who hold fast the book of the law, and are constant at prayer: for we will by no means suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. And when we shook the mountain of *Sinai* over them^a, as though it had been a covering, and they imagined that it was falling upon them; and we said, Receive the law which we have brought you, with reverence; and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may take heed. And when thy LORD drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam^b, and took them to witness against themselves, saying, Am not I your LORD? They answered, Yea: we do bear witness. *This was done* lest ye should say, at the day of resurrection, Verily we were negligent as to this matter, because we were not apprized thereof: or lest ye should say, Verily our fathers were formerly guilty of idolatry, and we are their posterity who have succeeded them; wilt thou therefore destroy us for that which vain men have committed? Thus do we explain our signs, that they may return from their vanities. And relate unto the Jews the history of him unto whom we brought our signs^c, and he departed from

^a See chap. 2, p. 12, not. a.

^b This was done in the plain of Dahia in India, or, as others imagine, in a valley near Mecca. The commentators tell us that God stroked Adam's back, and extracted from his loins his whole posterity, which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another; that these men were actually assembled all together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on God, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor¹. From this fiction it appears that the doctrine of pre-existence is not unknown to the Mohammedans; and there is some little conformity between it and the modern theory of generation *ex animalculis in semine maritum*.

^c Some suppose the person here intended to be a Jewish *rabbi*, or one Ommeya Ebn Abi'lsalt, who read the scriptures and found thereby that God would send a prophet about that time, and was in hopes that he might be the man; but when Mohammed declared his mission, believed not on him through envy. But according to the more general opinion, it was Balaam the son of Beor, of the Canaanitish race, well acquainted with part, at least, of the scripture, having even been favoured with some revelations from God; who being requested by his nation to curse Moses and the children of Israel, refused it at first, saying, *How can I curse those who are protected by the angels?* But afterwards he was prevailed on by gifts; and he had no sooner done it than he began to put out his tongue like a dog, and it hung down upon his breast².

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya. V. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 54. ² Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Balaam.

them; wherefore Satan followed him, and he became *one* of those who were seduced. And if we had pleased, we had surely raised him thereby *unto wisdom*; but he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own desire^a. Wherefore his likeness is as the likeness of a dog, which, if thou drive him away, putteth forth his tongue, or, if thou let him alone, putteth forth his tongue *also*. This is the likeness of the people, who accuse our signs of falsehood. Rehearse therefore *this* history *unto them*, that they may consider. Evil is the similitude of those people who accuse our signs of falsehood and injure their own souls. Whomsoever GOD shall direct, he *will be rightly* directed; and whomsoever he shall lead astray, they shall perish. Moreover we have created for hell many of the genii and of men; they have hearts by which they understand not, and they have eyes by which they see not; and they have ears by which they hear not. These are like the brute beasts; yea they go more astray: these are the negligent. GOD hath most excellent names^b: therefore call on him by the same; and withdraw from those who use his name perversely^c: they shall be rewarded for that which they shall have wrought. And of those whom we have created there are a people who direct *others* with truth, and act justly according thereto^d. But those who devise lies against our signs, we will suffer them to fall gradually

^a Loving the wages of unrighteousness, and running greedily after error for reward¹.

^b Expressing his glorious attributes. Of these the Mohammedan Arabs have no less than ninety-nine, which are reckoned up by Marracci².

^c As did Walid Ebn al Mogheira; who hearing Mohammed give God the title of al Rahmân, or *the merciful*, laughed aloud, saying that he knew none of that name, except a certain man who dwelt in Yamama³; or as the idolatrous Meccans did, who deduced the names of their idols from those of the true God; deriving, for example, Allât from Allah; al Uzza from al Aziz, *the mighty*; and Manât from al Mannân, *the bountiful*⁴.

^d As it is said a little above, that God hath created many to eternal misery, so here he is said to have created others to eternal happiness⁵.

² Pet. ii. v. Jude 11.
Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

³ In Alc. p. 414.

See the Prelim. Disc. p. 23.

⁴ Marrac. Vit. Mah. p. 19.

⁵ Al Beidâwi.

into ruin, by a *method* which they know not^a: and I will grant them to enjoy a long and prosperous life^{*}; for my stratagem is effectual. Do they not consider that there is no devil in their companion^b? He is no other than a public preacher. Or do they not contemplate the kingdom of heaven and earth, and the things which GOD hath created; and *consider* that peradventure it may be that their end draweth nigh? And in what new declaration will they believe, after this^c? He whom GOD shall cause to err, shall have no director; and he shall leave them in their impiety, wandering in confusion. They will ask thee concerning the *last* hour; at what time its coming is fixed? Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with my LORD; none shall declare the fixed time thereof, except he. *The expectation thereof* is grievous in heaven and on earth^d: it shall come upon you no otherwise than suddenly. They will ask thee, as though thou wast well acquainted therewith. Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with GOD alone: but the greater part of men know it not. Say, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief *from me*, but as GOD pleaseth. If I knew the secrets *of God*, I should surely enjoy abundance of good, neither should evil befall me. Verily I am no other than a denouncer of threats, and a messenger of good tidings unto people who believe. It is he who hath created you from one person, and out of him produced his wife, that he might dwell with her; and when he had known her, she carried a light burthen *for a time*, wherefore she walked *easily* therewith. But when it

^a By flattering them with prosperity in this life, and permitting them to sin in an uninterrupted security; till they find themselves unexpectedly ruined¹.

^{*} "Though my vengeance be slow, it is only the more terrible."—*Savary*.

^b *viz.* In Mohammed; whom they gave out to be possessed when he went up to mount Safâ, and from thence called to the several families of each respective tribe, in order to warn them of God's vengeance if they continued in their idolatry².

^c *i. e.* After they have rejected the Korân. For what more evident revelation can they hereafter expect³?

^d Not only to men and genii, but to the angels also.

¹ Al Bcidâwi.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

became more heavy^a, they called upon GOD their LORD, *saying*, If thou give us *a child* rightly shaped, we will surely be thankful. Yet when he had given them *a child* rightly shaped, they attributed companions unto him, for that which he had given them^b. But far be that from GOD, which they associated *with him*! Will they associate *with him* *false gods* which create nothing, but are themselves created; and can neither give them assistance, nor help themselves? And if ye invite them to the *true* direction, they will not follow you: it will be equal unto you, whether ye invite them, or whether ye hold your peace. Verily the *false deities* whom ye invoke besides GOD are servants like unto you^c. Call therefore upon them, and let them give you an answer, if ye speak truth. Have they feet, to walk with? Or have they hands, to lay hold with? Or have they eyes, to see with? Or have they ears, to hear with? Say, Call upon your companions, and then lay a snare for me, and defer *it*

^a That is, when the child grew bigger in her womb.

^b For the explaining of this whole passage the commentators tell the following story. They say that when Eve was big with her first child, the devil came to her and asked her whether she knew what she carried within her, and which way she should be delivered of it; suggesting that possibly it might be a beast. She, being unable to give an answer to this question, went in a fright to Adam, and acquainted him with the matter, who not knowing what to think of it, grew sad and pensive. Whereupon the devil appeared to her again (or, as others say, to Adam), and pretended that he by his prayers would obtain of God that she might be safely delivered of a son in Adam's likeness, provided they would promise to name him Abd'alhareth, or the *servant of al Hareth* (which was the devil's name among the angels), instead of Abd'allah, or the *servant of God*, as Adam had designed. This proposal was agreed to, and accordingly, when the child was born, they gave it that name: upon which it immediately died¹. And with this Adam and Eve are here taxed, as an act of idolatry. The story looks like a *rabbinical* fiction, and seems to have no other foundation than Cain's being called by Moses Obed adâmah, that is, *a tiller of the ground*, which might be translated into Arabic by Abd'alhareth.

But al Beidâwi, thinking it unlikely that a prophet (as Adam is by the Moham-medans supposed to have been) should be guilty of such an action, imagines the Korân in this place means Kosai, one of Mohammed's ancestors, and his wife; who begged issue of God, and having four sons granted them, called their names Abd Menâf, Abd Shams, Abd'al Uzza, and Abd'al Dâr, after the names of four principal idols of the Koreish. And the following words also he supposes to relate to their idolatrous posterity.

^c Being subject to the absolute command of God. For the chief idols of the Arabs were the sun, moon, and stars².

¹ Al Beidâwi, Yahya. V. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 438, et Selden. de Jure Nat. Scc. Hebr. lib. 5, c. 8. ² See the Prelim. Disc. p. 21, &c.

not ; for GOD *is* my protector, who sent down the book *of the Korân* ; and he protecteth the righteous. But they whom ye invoke besides him cannot assist you, neither do they help themselves ; and if ye call on them to direct you, they will not hear. Thou seest them look towards thee, but they see not. Use indulgence^a, and command that which is just, and withdraw far from the ignorant. And if an evil suggestion from Satan be suggested unto thee, *to divert thee from thy duty*, have recourse unto GOD : for he heareth and knoweth. Verily they who fear God, when a temptation from Satan assaileth them, remember *the divine commands*, and behold, they clearly see *the danger of sin, and the wiles of the devil*. But as for the brethren *of the devils*, they shall continue them in error ; and afterwards they shall not preserve themselves *therefrom*. And when thou bringest not a verse *of the Korân* unto them they say, Hast thou not put it together^b? Answer, I follow that only which is revealed unto me from my LORD. This *book containeth* evident proofs from your LORD, and *is* a direction and mercy unto people who believe. And when the Korân is read, attend thereto, and keep silence ; that ye may obtain mercy. And meditate on thy LORD in thine own mind, with humility and fear, and without loud speaking, evening and morning ; and be not *one* of the negligent. Moreover *the angels* who are with my LORD do not proudly disdain his service, but they celebrate his praise and worship him.

^a Or, as the words may also be translated, *Take the superabundant overplus* ; meaning that Mohammed should accept such voluntary alms from the people as they could spare. But the passage, if taken in this sense, was abrogated by the precept of legal alms, which was given at Medina.

^b *i. e.* Hast thou not yet contrived what to say ; or canst thou obtain no revelation from God ?

CHAPTER VIII.

Intituled, The Spoils^a; revealed at Medina^b.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

THEY will ask thee concerning the spoils: Answer, *The division of the spoils belongeth unto GOD and the apostle^c. Therefore fear GOD, and compose the matter amicably among you: and obey GOD and his apostle, if ye are true believers. Verily the true believers are those whose hearts fear when GOD is mentioned, and whose faith increaseth when his signs are rehearsed unto them, and who trust in their LORD; who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms out of that which we have bestowed on them. These are really believers: they shall have superior degrees of felicity with their LORD, and forgiveness, and an honourable provision. As thy LORD brought thee forth from thy*

^a This chapter was occasioned by the high disputes which happened about the division of the spoils taken at the battle of Bedr¹, between the young men, who had fought, and the old men who had staid under the ensigns; the former insisting they ought to have the whole, and the latter, that they deserved a share². To end the contention, Mohammed pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty among them equally, having first taken thereout a fifth part for the purposes which will be mentioned hereafter.

^b Except seven verses, beginning at these words, *And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, &c.* Which some think were revealed at Mecca.

^c It is related that Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, one of the companions, whose brother Omair was slain in this battle, having killed Said Ebn al As, took his sword, and carrying it to Mohammed, desired that he might be permitted to keep it; but the prophet told him, that it was not his to give away, and ordered him to lay it with the other spoils. At this repulse, and the loss of his brother, Saad was greatly disturbed; but in a very little while this chapter was revealed, and thereupon Mohammed gave him the sword, saying, You asked this sword of me when I had no power to dispose of it, but now I have received authority from God to distribute the spoils, you may take it³.

¹ See chap. 3. p. 52.

² Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

³ Al Beidâwi.

house^a, with truth; and part of the believers were averse to *thy directions*^b: they disputed with thee concerning the truth, after it had been made known unto them^c; no otherwise than as if they had been led forth to death, and had seen *it with their eyes*^d. And *call to mind* when GOD promised you one of the two parties, that it should be *delivered* unto you^e, and ye desired that the *party* which was not fur-

* *i. e.* From Medina. The particle *as* having nothing in the following words to answer it, al Beidâwi supposes the connexion to be, that the division of the spoils belonged to the prophet, notwithstanding his followers were averse to it, as they had been averse to the expedition itself.

^b For the better understanding of this passage, it will be necessary to mention some farther particulars relating to the expedition of Bedr.

Mohammed having received private information (for which he pretended he was obliged to the angel Gabriel) of the approach of a caravan belonging to the Koreish, which was on its return from Syria with a large quantity of valuable merchandize, and was guarded by no more than thirty, or, as others say, forty men, set out with a party to intercept it. Abu Sofîân, who commanded the little convoy, having notice of Mohammed's motions, sent to Mecca for succours: upon which Abu Jahl, and all the principal men of the city, except only Abu Laheb, marched to his assistance, with a body of nine hundred and fifty men. Mohammed had no sooner received advice of this than Gabriel descended with a promise that he should either take the caravan, or beat the succours; whereupon he consulted with his companions which of the two he should attack. Some of them were for setting upon the caravan, saying that they were not prepared to fight such a body of troops as were coming with Abu Jahl: but this proposal Mohammed rejected, telling them that the caravan was at a considerable distance by the sea-side, whereas Abu Jahl was just upon them. The others however insisted so obstinately on pursuing the first design of falling on the caravan, that the prophet grew angry, but by the interposition of Abu Becr, Omar, Saad Ebn Obadah, and Mokdâd Ebn Amru, they at length acquiesced to his opinion. Mokdâd, in particular, assured him they were all ready to obey his orders, and would not say to him, as the children of Israel did to Moses, *Go thou and thy Lord to fight, for we will sit here*¹; but *Go thou and thy Lord to fight, and we will fight with you*. At this Mohammed smiled, and again sat down to consult with them, applying himself chiefly to the Ansârs, or *helpers*; because they were the greater part of his forces, and he had some apprehension lest they should not think themselves obliged by the oath they had taken to him at al Akaba², to assist him against any other than such as should attack him in Medina. But Saad Ebn Moâdh, in the name of the rest, told him that they had received him as the apostle of God, and had promised him obedience, and were therefore all to a man ready to follow him where he pleased, though it were into the sea. Upon which the prophet ordered them in God's name to attack the succours, assuring them of the victory³.

^c That is, concerning their success against Abu Jahl and the Koreish; notwithstanding they had God's promise to encourage them.

^d The reason of this great backwardness was the smallness of their number, in comparison of the enemy, and their being unprepared; for they were all foot, having but two horses among them, whereas the Koreish had no less than a hundred horse⁴.

^e That is, either the caravan, or the succours from Mecca. Father Marracci, mistaking *al ır* and *al nafır*, which are appellatives, and signify *the caravan* and *the troop* or body of succours, for proper names, has thence coined two families of the Koreish never heard of before, which he calls Aïrenses and Naphirenses⁵.

¹ Korân, chap. 5, p. 122.

² See the Prelim. Disc. p. 65.

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ Idem. V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 56.

⁵ Marracc. in Alc. p. 297.

nished with arms^a should be *delivered* unto you : but GOD purposed to make known the truth in his words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers^b; that he might verify the truth, and destroy falsehood, although the wicked were averse *thereto*. When ye asked assistance of your LORD^c, and he answered you, Verily I will assist you with a thousand^d angels, following one another *in order*. And this GOD designed only as good tidings^e for you, and that your hearts might thereby rest secure : for victory *is* from GOD alone; and GOD is mighty *and* wise. When a sleep fell on you as a security from him, and he sent down upon you water from heaven, that he might thereby purify you, and take from you the abomination of Satan^f, and that he might confirm your hearts, and establish *your* feet thereby. *Also* when thy LORD spake unto the angels, *saying*, Verily I am with you ; wherefore confirm those who believe. I will cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike off *their* heads, and strike off all the

^a viz. The caravan, which was guarded by no more than forty horse ; whereas the other party was strong and well appointed.

^b As if he had said, Your view was only to gain the spoils of the caravan, and to avoid danger ; but God designed to exalt his true religion by extirpating its adversaries¹.

^c When Mohammed's men saw they could not avoid fighting, they recommended themselves to God's protection ; and their prophet prayed with great earnestness, crying out, O God, fulfil that which thou hast promised me : O God, if this party be cut off, thou wilt be no more worshipped on earth. And he continued to repeat these words till his cloak fell from off his back².

^d Which were afterwards reinforced with three thousand more³. Wherefore some copies, instead of a *thousand*, read *thousands* in the plural.

^e See chap. 3. pp. 71, 72.

^f It is related, that the spot where Mohammed's little army lay was a dry and deep sand, into which their feet sank as they walked, the enemy having the command of the water ; and that having fallen asleep, the greater part of them were disturbed with dreams, wherein the devil suggested to them that they could never expect God's assistance in the battle, since they were cut off from the water, and besides suffering the inconveniency of thirst, must be obliged to pray without washing, though they imagined themselves to be the favourites of God, and that they had his apostle among them. But in the night rain fell so plentifully, that it formed a little brook, and not only supplied them with water for all their uses, but made the sand between them and the infidel army firm enough to bear them ; whereupon the diabolical suggestions ceased⁴.

¹ Al Beidāwi.

² Idem. V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 58.

³ See chap. 3.

pp. 52, and 71, 72.

⁴ Al Beidāwi.

ends of their *fingers*^a. *This shall they suffer*, because they have resisted GOD and his apostle : and whosoever shall oppose GOD and his apostle, verily GOD *will be* severe in punishing *him*. *This shall be your punishment* ; taste it therefore : and the infidels shall also suffer the torment of *hell* fire. O true believers, when ye meet the unbelievers marching *in great numbers against you*, turn not *your* backs unto them : for whoso shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to *another party of the faithful*^b, shall draw on himself the indignation of GOD, and his abode shall be hell ; an ill journey *shall it be thither* ! And ye slew not those *who were slain at Bedr yourselves*, but GOD slew them^c. Neither didst thou, O Mohammed, cast *the gravel into their eyes*, when thou didst *seem to cast it* ; but GOD cast *it*^d, that he might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from himself ; for GOD heareth and knoweth. *This was done* that GOD might also weaken the crafty devices of the unbelievers. If ye desire a decision *of the matter between us*, now hath a decision come unto you^e : and if ye desist *from opposing the apostle*, it *will be* better for you. But if ye return *to attack him*, we will also return *to his assistance* ; and your forces shall not be of advantage unto you at all, although they be numerous ; for GOD is with the faithful. O true believers, obey GOD and his apostle, and turn not back from him, since ye hear *the admonitions of the Korân*. And be not as those who say, We hear, when they do not hear. Verily the

^a This is the punishment expressly assigned the enemies of the Mohammedan religion ; though the Moslems did not inflict it on the prisoners they took at Bedr, for which they are reprehended in this chapter.

^b That is, if it be not downright running away, but done either with design to rally and attack the enemy again, or by way of feint or stratagem, or to succour a party which is hard pressed, &c.¹

^c See chap. 3. p. 52, not. a.

^d See *ibid*.

^e These words are directed to the people of Mecca ; whom Mohammed derides, because the Koreish, when they were ready to set out from Mecca, took hold of the curtains of the Caaba, saying, O God, *grant the victory to the superior army, the party that is most rightly directed, and the most honourable*².

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² *Idem*.

worst *sort of* beasts in the sight of GOD are the deaf and the dumb *, who understand not. If GOD had known any good in them, he would certainly have caused them to hear ^a: and if he had caused them to hear, they would surely have turned back, and have retired afar off. O true believers, answer GOD and *his* apostle, when he inviteth you unto that which giveth you life; and know that GOD goeth between a man and his heart ^b, and that before him ye shall be assembled. Beware of sedition ^c; it will not affect those who are ungodly among you, particularly, *but all of you in general*; and know that GOD is severe in punishing. And remember when ye were few, *and* reputed weak in the land ^d; ye feared lest men should snatch you away; but *God* provided you a place of refuge, and he strengthened you with his assistance, and bestowed on you good things, that ye might give thanks. O true believers, deceive not GOD and *his* apostle ^e; neither violate your faith, against your own knowledge. And

* “In the sight of the Eternal, a state more vile than that of the brute is to be deaf and dumb, and to understand not.” *Savary*.

^a That is, to hearken to the remonstrances of the Korân. Some say that the infidels demanded of Mohammed that he should raise Kosai, one of his ancestors, to life, to bear witness to the truth of his mission, saying, he was a man of honour and veracity, and they would believe his testimony: but they are here told that it would have been in vain ¹.

^b Not only knowing the innermost secrets of his heart, but over-ruling a man's designs, and disposing him either to belief or infidelity.

^c The original word signifies any epidemical crime, which involves a number of people in its guilt: and the commentators are divided as to its particular meaning in this place.

^d *viz.* at Mecca. The persons here spoken to are the Mohâjerin, or refugees who fled from thence to Medina.

^e Al Beidâwi mentions an instance of such treacherous dealing in Abu Lobâba, who was sent by Mohammed to the tribe of Koreidha, then besieged by that prophet for having broken their league with him and perfidiously gone over to the enemies at the war of the ditch ², to persuade them to surrender at the discretion of Saad Ebn Moadh, prince of the tribe of Aws, their confederates, which proposal they had refused. But Abu Lobâba's family and effects being in the hands of those of Koreidha, he acted directly contrary to his commission, and instead of persuading them to accept Saad as their judge, when they asked his advice about it, drew his hand across his throat, signifying that he would put them all to death. However he had no sooner done this than he was sensible of his crime, and going into a mosque tied himself to a pillar, and remained there seven days without meat or drink, till Mohammed forgave him.

¹ Al Beidâwi. see chap. 6. p. 158. ² See Prid. Life of Mah. p. 85. Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 76. and the notes to chap. 33.

know that your wealth and your children *are* a temptation *unto you*^a; and that with GOD is a great reward. O true believers, if ye fear GOD, he will grant you a distinction^b, and will expiate your sins from you, and will forgive you; for GOD is endued with great liberality. And *call to mind* when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might either detain thee *in bonds*, or put thee to death, or expel thee *the city*^c; and they plotted *against thee*: but GOD laid a plot *against them*^d; and GOD is the best layer of plots*. And when our signs are repeated unto them, they say, We have heard; if we pleased we could certainly pronounce *a composition* like unto this: this is nothing but fables of the ancients^e. And when they said, O GOD, if this be the truth from thee, rain down stones upon us from heaven, or inflict on us some *other* grievous punishment^f. But GOD was not *disposed* to punish them, while thou wast with them; nor was GOD *disposed* to punish them when they asked pardon^g. But they have nothing *to offer in excuse* why GOD

^a As they were to Abu Lobâba.

^b *i. e.* A direction that you may distinguish between truth and falsehood; or success in battle to distinguish the believers from the infidels; or the like.

^c When the Meccans heard of the league entered into by Mohammed with those of Medina, being apprehensive of the consequence, they held a council, whereat they say the devil assisted in the likeness of an old man of Najd. The point under consideration being what they should do with Mohammed, Abu'lbakhtari was of opinion that he should be imprisoned, and the room walled up, except a little hole, through which he should have necessities given him, till he died. This the devil opposed, saying that he might probably be released by some of his own party. Heshâm Abn Amru was for banishing him: but his advice also the devil rejected, insisting that Mohammed might engage some other tribes in his interest, and make war on them. At length Abu Jahl gave his opinion for putting him to death; and proposed the manner; which was unanimously approved¹.

^d Revealing their conspiracy to Mohammed, and miraculously assisting him to deceive them and make his escape²; and afterwards drawing them to the battle of Bedr.

* "God, whose vigilance surpasses that of the wicked, will frustrate their plots." Savary.

^e See chap. 6. p. 145.

^f This was the speech of Al Nodar Ebn al Hareth³.

^g Saying, *God forgive us!* Some of the commentators however suppose the persons who asked pardon were certain believers, who stayed among the infidels; and others think the meaning to be, that God would not punish them, *provided they asked pardon*.

¹ Al Beidâwi. See the Prelim. Disc. p. 68.

² See *ibid*.

³ Al Beidâwi.

should not punish them, since they hindered *the believers* from *visiting* the holy temple^a, although they are not the guardians thereof^b. The guardians thereof are those only who fear *God*; but the greater part of them know it not. And their prayer at the house of *God* is no other than whistling and clapping of the hands^c. Taste therefore the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers. They who believe not expend their wealth to obstruct the way of *GOD*^d: they shall expend it, but afterwards it shall become *matter of sighing and regret* unto them, and at length they shall be overcome; and the unbelievers shall be gathered together into hell; that *GOD* may distinguish the wicked from the good, and may throw the wicked one upon the other, and may gather them all in a heap, and cast them into hell. These are they who shall perish. Say unto the unbelievers, that if they desist *from opposing thee*, what is already past shall be forgiven them; but if they return *to attack thee*, the exemplary punishment of the former *opposers of the prophets* is already past, *and the like shall be inflicted on them*. Therefore fight against them until there be no opposition *in favour of idolatry*, and the religion be wholly *GOD's*. If they desist, verily *GOD* seeth that which they do: but if they turn back, know that *GOD* is your patron; *he is* the best patron, and the best *X*. helper. * And know that whenever ye gain

^a Obliging them to flee from Mecca, and not permitting them so much as to approach the temple, in the expedition of al Hodeibiya¹.

^b Because of their idolatry, and indecent deportment there. For otherwise the Koreish had a right to the guardianship of the Caaba, and it was continued in their tribe and in the same family even after the taking of Mecca².

^c It is said that they used to go round the Caaba naked³, both men and women, whistling at the same time through their fingers, and clapping their hands. Or, as others say, they made this noise on purpose to disturb Mohammed when at his prayers, pretending to be at prayers also themselves⁴.

^d The persons particularly meant in this passage were twelve of the Koreish, who gave each of them ten camels every day to be killed for provisions for their army in the expedition of Bedr; or, according to others, the owners of the effects brought by the caravan, who gave great part of them to the support of the succours from Mecca. It is also said that Abu Sofîân, in the expedition of Ohod, hired two thou-

¹ See the Prelim. Disc. p. 72. ² See chap. 4. p. 96. not. d. ³ See chap. 7. p. 171. ⁴ Al Beidâwi.

any *spoils*, a fifth part thereof belongeth unto GOD, and to the apostle, and *his* kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller^a; if ye believe in GOD, and that which we have sent down unto our servant on the day of distinction^b, on the day whereon the two armies met: and GOD is almighty. When ye were *encamped* on the hithermost side of the valley^c, and they were *encamped* on the further side, and the caravan *was* below you^d*; and if ye had mutually appointed *to come to a battle*, ye would certainly have declined the appointment^e; but *ye were brought to an engagement without any previous appointment*, that GOD might accomplish the thing which was *decreed to be done*^f, that he who perisheth *hereafter* may perish after demonstrative evidence, and that he who liveth may live by *the same* evidence; GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. When thy LORD caused *the enemy* to appear unto thee in thy sleep *few in number*^g; and if he had caused them to appear numerous unto thee, ye would have been disheartened, and would

sand Arabs, who cost him a considerable sum, besides the auxiliaries which he had obtained *gratis*¹.

^a According to this law, a fifth part of the spoils is appropriated to the particular uses here mentioned, and the other four fifths are to be equally divided among those who were present at the action: but in what manner or to whom the first fifth is to be distributed the Mohammedan doctors differ, as we have elsewhere observed². Though it be the general opinion that this verse was revealed at Bedr, yet there are some who suppose it was revealed in the expedition against the Jewish tribe of Kainokâ, which happened a little above a month after³.

^b *i. e.* Of the battle of Bedr; which is so called because it *distinguished* the true believers from the infidels.

^c Which was much more inconvenient than the other, because of the deep sand and want of water.

^d *viz.* By the sea side, making the best of their way to Mecca.

* "You were encamped near the rivulet⁴, the enemies were on the opposite bank. Your cavalry was inferior."—*Savary*.

^e Because of the great superiority of the enemy, and the disadvantages ye lay under.

^f By granting a miraculous victory to the faithful, and overthrowing their enemies; for the conviction of the latter, and the confirmation of the former⁵.

^g With which vision Mohammed acquainted his companions for their encouragement.

¹ Al Beidâwi.

² See the Prelim. Disc. § VI.

³ Al Beidâwi.

⁴ "Mahomet was encamped near Bedr. This is the name of a well. This post was a very advantageous one, because it enabled him to procure water, which is exceedingly scarce in Arabia."—*Savary*.

⁵ Al Beidâwi.

have disputed concerning the matter^a: but GOD preserved *you from this*; for he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of *men*. And when he caused them to appear unto you, when ye met, *to be few in your eyes*^b; and diminished your *numbers* in their eyes^c; that GOD might accomplish the thing which *was decreed to be done*: and unto GOD shall *all things* return. O true believers, when ye meet a party of *the infidels*, stand firm, and remember GOD frequently, that ye may prosper: and obey GOD and his apostle, and be not refractory, lest ye be discouraged, and your success depart from you; but persevere with patience, for GOD *is* with those who persevere. And be not as those who went out of their houses in an insolent manner, and to appear with ostentation unto men^d, and turned aside from the way of GOD; for GOD comprehendeth that which they do. And *remember* when Satan prepared their works for them^e, and said, No man shall prevail against you to-day; and I will surely be near *to assist* you. But when the two armies appeared in sight of each other, he turned back on his heels, and said, Verily I am clear of you:

^a Whether ye should attack the enemy or flee.

^b It is said that Ebn Masúd asked the man who was next him whether he did not see them to be about seventy; to which he replied that he took them to be a hundred¹.

^c This seeming contradictory to a passage in the third chapter², where it is said that the Moslems appeared to the infidels to be twice their own number, the commentators reconcile the matter, by telling us that just before the battle began, the prophet's party seemed fewer than they really were, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but that so soon as the armies were fully engaged, they appeared superior, to terrify and dismay their adversaries. It is related that Abu Jahl at first thought them so inconsiderable a handful, that he said one camel would be as much as they could all eat³.

^d These were the Meccans, who marching to the assistance of the caravan, and being come as far as Johfa, were there met by a messenger from Abu Sofîân, to acquaint them that he thought himself out of danger, and therefore they might return home; upon which Abu Jahl, to give the greater opinion of the courage of himself and his comrades, and of their readiness to assist their friends, swore that they would not return till they had been at Bedr, and had there drunk wine, and entertained those who should be present, and diverted themselves with singing-women⁴. The event of which bravado was very fatal, several of the principal Koreish, and Abu Jahl in particular, losing their lives in the expedition.

^e By inciting them to oppose the prophet.

¹ Al Beidâwi.
⁴ Al Beidâwi.

² Page 52.

³ Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya.

I certainly see that which ye see not ; I fear God, for God is severe in punishing^a. When the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts *there was* an infirmity, said, Their religion hath deceived these *men*^b : but whosoever confideth in God *cannot be deceived* ; for God is mighty *and* wise. And if thou didst behold when the angels cause the unbelievers to die : they strike their faces *and* their backs^c, and *say unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning : this *shall ye suffer* for that which your hands have sent before you^d ; and because God is not unjust towards *his* servants. *These have acted* according to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them, who disbelieved in the signs of God : therefore God took them away in their iniquity ; for God is mighty, *and* severe in punishing. This *hath come to pass* because God changeth not *his* grace, wherewith he hath favoured any people, until they change that which is in their souls ; and for that God *both* heareth *and* seeth. According to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them, who charged the signs of their LORD with imposture, *have*

^a Some understand this passage figuratively, of the private instigation of the devil, and of the defeating of his designs and the hopes with which he had inspired the idolaters. But others take the whole literally, and tell us that when the Koreish, on their march, bethought themselves of the enmity between them and the tribe of Kenâna, who were masters of the country about Bedr, that consideration would have prevailed on them to return, had not the devil appeared in the likeness of Sorâka Ebn Malec, a principal person of that tribe, and promised them that they should not be molested, and that himself would go with them. But when they came to join battle, and the devil saw the angels descending to the assistance of the Moslems, he retired ; and al Hareth Ebn Hesham, who had him then by the hand, asking him whither he was going, and if he intended to betray them at such a juncture, he answered, in the words of this passage, *I am clear of you, for I see that which ye see not* ; meaning the celestial succours. They say further, that when the Koreish, on their return, laid the blame of their overthrow on Sorâka, he swore that he did not so much as know of their march till he heard they were routed : and afterwards, when they embraced Mohammedism, they were satisfied it was the devil¹.

^b In tempting them to so great a piece of folly, as to attack so large a body of men with such a handful.

^c This passage is generally understood of the angels who slew the infidels at Bedr, and who fought (as the commentators pretend) with iron maces, which shot forth flames of fire at every stroke². Some however imagine that the words hint, at least, at the examination of the sepulchre, which the Mohammedans believe every man must undergo after death, and will be very terrible to the unbelievers³.

^d See chap. 2. p. 17. not. e.

¹ Al Beidâwi, Jailalo'ddin. p. 105, &c.

² Idem.

³ See the Prelim. Disc. § IV.

they acted: wherefore we destroyed them in their sins, and we drowned the people of Pharaoh; for they were all unjust persons. Verily the worst cattle in the sight of GOD are those who are *obstinate* infidels, and will not believe. As to those who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league at every *convenient* opportunity^a, and fear not *God*; if thou take them in war, disperse, by *making* them *an example*, those *who shall come* after them, that they may be warned; or if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back *their league* unto them, with like treatment; for GOD loveth not the treacherous. And think not^b that the unbelievers have escaped *God's vengeance*^c, for they shall not weaken *the power of God*. Therefore prepare against them what force ye are able, and troops of horse, whereby ye may strike a terror into the enemy of GOD, and your enemy, and into other *infidels* besides them, whom ye know not, *but* GOD knoweth them. And whatsoever ye shall expend in the defence of the religion of GOD, it shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly. And if they incline unto peace, do thou *also* incline thereto; and put thy confidence in GOD, for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth. But if they seek to deceive thee, verily GOD *will be* thy support. It is he who hath strengthened thee with his help, and with *that of* the faithful; and hath united their hearts. If thou hadst expended whatever *riches are* in the earth, thou couldest not have united their hearts^d, but GOD united them; for he *is* mighty *and* wise. O prophet, GOD is thy support, and such of the true believers who followeth thee^e. O prophet, stir up the faithful to

^a As did the tribe of Koreidha¹.

^b Some copies read it in the third person, *Let not the unbelievers think*, &c.

^c viz. Those who made their escape from Bedr.

^d Because of the inveterate enmity which reigned among many of the Arab tribes; and therefore this reconciliation is reckoned by the commentators as no inconsiderable miracle, and a strong proof of their prophet's mission.

^e This passage, as some say, was revealed in a plain called al Beidâ, between Mecca and Medina, during the expedition of Bedr; and, as others, in the sixth year of the prophet's mission, on the occasion of Omar's embracing Mohammedism.

¹ See before, p. 204, and chap. 33.

war : if twenty of you persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be one hundred of you, they shall overcome a thousand of those who believe not ; because they are a people which do not understand. Now hath GOD eased you, for he knew that ye were weak. If there be an hundred of you who persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred ; and if there be a thousand of you, they shall overcome two thousand ^a, by the permission of GOD ; for GOD is with those who persevere. It hath not been *granted* unto any prophet, that he should possess captives, until he had made a great slaughter *of the infidels* in the earth ^b. Ye seek the accidental *goods* of this world, but GOD regardeth the life to come ; and GOD is mighty and wise. Unless a revelation had been previously delivered from GOD, verily a severe punishment had been inflicted on you, for *the ransom* which ye took *from the captives at Bedr* ^c. Eat there-

^a See Levit. xxvi. 8. Josh. xxiii. 10.

^b Because severity ought to be used where circumstances require it, though clemency be more preferable where it may be exercised with safety. While the Mohammedans therefore were weak, and their religion in its infancy, God's pleasure was that the opposers of it should be cut off, as is particularly directed in this chapter. For which reason they are here upbraided with their preferring the lucre of the ransom to their duty.

^c That is, had not the ransom been, in strictness, lawful for you to accept, by God's having in general terms allowed you the spoil and the captives, ye had been severely punished.

Among the seventy prisoners which the Moslems took in this battle were al Abbàs, one of Mohammed's uncles, and Okail the son of Abu Tàleb and brother of Ali : when they were brought before Mohammed, he asking the advice of his companions what should be done with them, Abu Becr was for releasing them on their paying ransom, saying that they were near relations to the prophet, and God might possibly forgive them on their repentance ; but Omar was for striking off their heads, as professed patrons of infidelity. Mohammed did not approve of the latter advice, but observed that Abu Becr resembled Abraham, who interceded for offenders, and that Omar was like Noah, who prayed for the utter extirpation of the wicked antediluvians ; and thereupon it was agreed to accept a ransom from them and their fellow-captives. Soon after which, Omar, going into the prophet's tent, found him and Abu Becr weeping, and asking them the reason of their tears, Mohammed acquainted him that this verse had been revealed, condemning their ill-timed lenity towards their prisoners, and that they had narrowly escaped the divine vengeance for it, adding, that if God had not passed the matter over, they had certainly been destroyed to a man, excepting only Omar, and Saad Ebn Moadh, a person of as great severity, and who was also for putting the prisoners to death ¹. Yet did not this crime go absolutely unpunished neither : for in the battle of Ohod the Moslems lost seventy men, equal to the number of prisoners taken at Bedr ² ; which was so ordered by God, as a retaliation or atonement for the same.

¹ See before, p. 142. and chap. 33.

² See chap. 3. p. 73.

fore of what ye have acquired^a, *that which is lawful, and good*; for GOD is gracious *and* merciful. O prophet, say unto the captives who are in your hands, If GOD shall know any good *to be* in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been taken from you^b; and he will forgive you, for GOD is gracious *and* merciful. But if they seek to deceive thee^c, verily they have deceived GOD before; wherefore he hath given *thee* power over them: and GOD is knowing *and* wise. Moreover they who have believed, and have fled their country, and employed their substance and their persons in fighting for the religion of GOD, and they who have given *the prophet* a refuge *among them*, and have assisted *him*, these *shall be deemed* the one nearest of kin to the other^{*d}. But they who have believed, but have not fled their country, shall have no *right of* kindred at all with you, until they *also* fly. Yet if they ask assistance of you on account of religion, *it belongeth* unto you *to give them* assistance; except against a people between whom and yourselves *there shall be* a league

^a *i. e.* Of the ransom which ye have received of your prisoners. For, it seems, on this rebuke, they had some scruple of conscience whether they might convert it to their own use or not¹.

^b That is, If ye repent and believe, God will make you abundant retribution for the ransom ye have now paid. It is said that this passage was revealed on the particular account of al Abbās, who being obliged by Mohammed, though his uncle, to ransom both himself and his two nephews, Okail, and Nawfal Ebn al Hareth, complained that he should be reduced to beg alms of the Koreish as long as he lived. Whereupon Mohammed asked him what was become of the gold which he delivered to Omm al Fadl when he left Mecca, telling her that he knew not what might befall him in the expedition, and therefore if he lost his life, she might keep it herself for the use of her and her children? Al Abbās demanded who told him this; to which Mohammed replied, that God had revealed it to him. And upon this al Abbās immediately professed Islamism, declaring that none could know of that affair except God, because he gave her the money at midnight. Some years after, al Abbās reflecting on this passage, confessed it to be fulfilled; for he was then not only possessed of a large substance, but had the custody of the well Zemzem, which, he said, he preferred to all the riches of Mecca².

^c By not paying the ransom agreed on.

^{*} "The believers, who have abandoned their families to defend the cause of God with their substance and their lives, shall share the spoil with those who have given assistance and an asylum to the prophet."—*Savary*.

^d And shall consequently inherit one another's substance, preferably to their relations by blood. And this, they say, was practised for some time, the Mohājērūn and Ansārs being judged heirs to one another, exclusive of the deceased's other kindred, till this passage was abrogated by the following; *Those who are related by blood shall be deemed the nearest of kin to each other.*

¹ Al Beidāwi.

² Idem. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Abbās.

subsisting: and GOD seeth that which ye do. And as to the infidels, let them be *deemed* of kin the one to the other. Unless ye do this, there will be a sedition in the earth, and grievous corruption. But as for them who have believed, and left their country, and have fought for GOD's true religion, and who have allowed *the prophet* a retreat *among* them, and have assisted *him*, these are really believers; they shall receive mercy, and an honourable provision. And they who have believed since, and have fled their country, and have fought with you, these *also* are of you. And those who are related by consanguinity *shall be deemed* the nearest of kin to each other, *preferably to strangers* according to the book of GOD; GOD knoweth all things,

END OF VOL. I.

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